History of Manitoba

Copy 1,
SHELF NO. R 971.26 G957
Cana



HAMILTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

...OT BE TAKEN
...ROOM

HAMILTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 2022 21333542 1

PRESENTED BY
C. B. Bizzar Esq
Toronto
Ont.

HISTORY

— OF —

MANITOBA

— FROM THE —

EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO 1835

— BY THE —

LATE HON. DONALD GUNN,

And from 1835 *to the Admission of the Province into the Dominion*

BY CHARLES R. TUTTLE,

Author of the "Illustrated History of the Dominion of Canada," etc., etc., etc.

OTTAWA:
PRINTED BY MACLEAN, ROGER & CO.
1880.

Entered according to Act of Parliament in the Year 1880, *by*

CHARLES R. TUTTLE,

In the Office of the Minister of Agriculture and Statistics, at Ottawa, Canada.

-33137-
Copyright
MAR 4- 1935
HAMILTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

PREFACE.

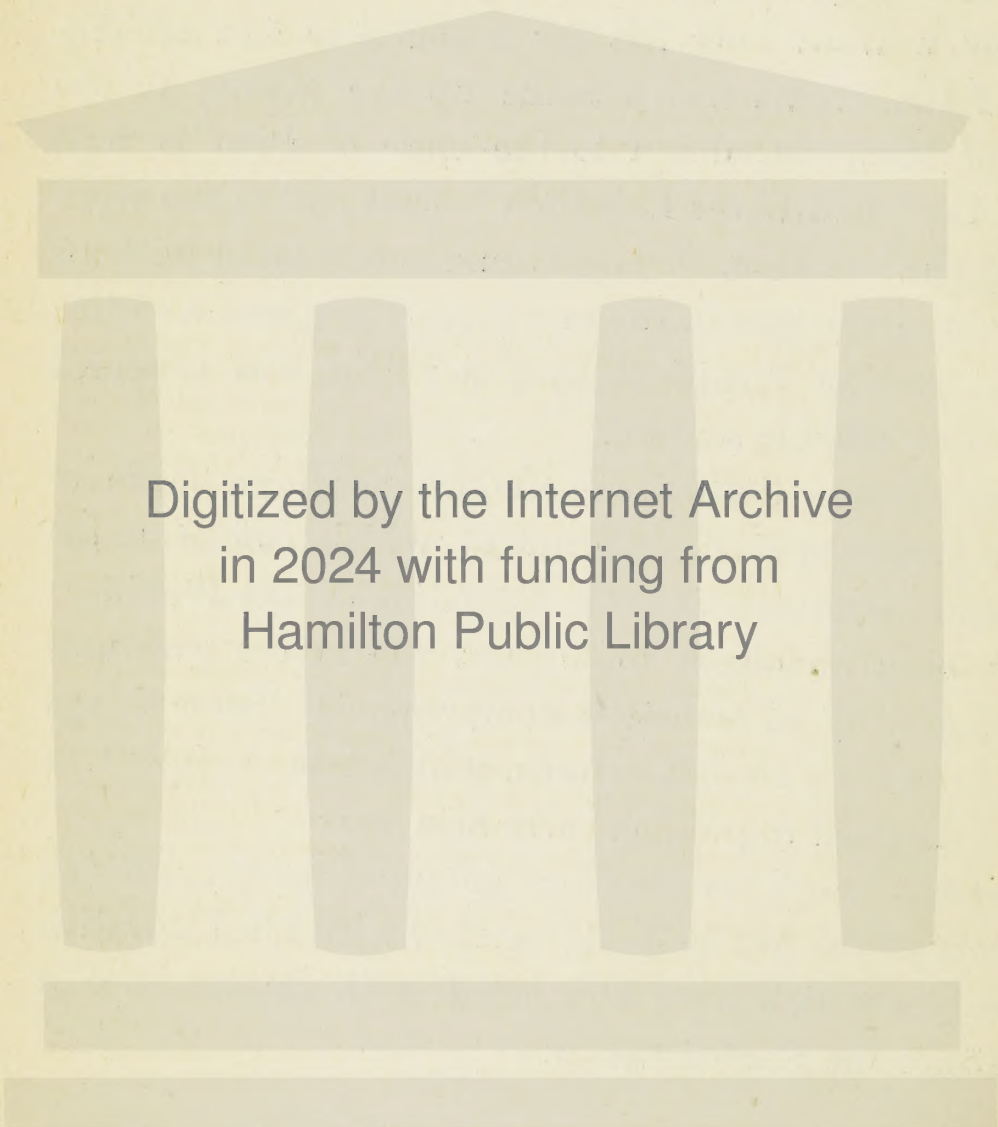
This volume is presented to the public in the hope that it will supply a want long felt for a complete and reliable account of the events which make up the history of the Province of Manitoba, down to the close of what is well known as the "Red River Rebellion." That part of the work written by the late Hon. Donald Gunn, is presented without any material alterations in the manuscript prepared by him; while that portion furnished by the writer was collected from the most reliable sources.

As the space was limited, no attempt has been made to record the events of civil government which constitute the several administrations since the formation of the Province; nor has it been an object to forecast the future greatness which the destiny of Manitoba comprehends. These things have been left for a second volume, which it is the intention of the undersigned to publish early next year.

The present work is therefore intended to furnish the early history of the North-West, together with a full narrative of the troubles which were connected with the entrance of Manitoba into the Confederation.

CHARLES R. TUTTLE.

WINNIPEG, Oct. 25, 1880.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Hamilton Public Library

https://archive.org/details/historyofmanitob00unse

CONTENTS.

Portrait of the late Hon. Donald Gunn.....Frontispiece.

PAGE

Sketch of the late Hon. Donald Gunn..... 9

CHAPTER I.—Discovery—Voyages of the Cabots—Cartier's Explorations—Voyage of Roberval—Champlain—Discovery of the Hudson's Bay Country—Contest between the English and French for the Fur Trade—The first Forts and Factories—Early Trade Statistics—Last Appearance of the French in the Hudson's Bay Country 32

CHAPTER II.—The Earl of Selkirk—His Dealings with the Fur Company—The Selkirk Grant—Prospectus of the Selkirk Colony—Curious Incidents of Immigration—A Winter on the Nelson River in 1811—Contention in the Colony—Early Methods of Trial and Punishment—Miles Macdonell and his Colony at Red River in 1812—Thrilling Incidents of Immigration—First Settlers at Pembina—Privations of the First Red River Settlers—The Rival Fur Companies—The Indians..... 60

CHAPTER III.—Emigrants for the Earl's Colony—A Case of Love—Typhus Fever on Board the Ships—Trading with the Esquimaux—Arrival at Nelson River—Great Privations—A Fire—Want of Implements—Contention between Rival Companies—Arrested—Dissatisfaction among Settlers—A Fight—Tried and Acquitted—Colonists Returning to Canada—Dr. Strachan's Hospitality..... 89

CHAPTER IV.—A Skirmish in which two are Killed—A Wake without Whiskey—Petty Annoyances—Lord Selkirk in Montreal—The Fur Trade—Destitution among Hudson's Bay Men—From Scotland to Red River—A New Governor—Administration of Justice—A Surprise—Doings at Pembina—A Conflict—Mr. Keveny in Trouble—Murdered—The Earl's Soldiers for the North-West 122

CHAPTER V.—Lord Selkirk at Fort William—He takes Possession of the Fort in Military Order—A Protest—Prisoners sent to Montreal—Searching Storehouses—A Proclamation—Selkirk's Depredations—Suffering Colonists on Jack River—Return of the Colonists to Red River—Privations—Arrival of the Canadian Commissioners—Restitution—The first Shower of Grasshoppers—Conflicts between the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies—Sufferings of the Pioneers..... 174

PAGE

CHAPTER VI.—Captain Bulger's Administration—Incidents among the Pioneers of Red River—The Buffalo Wool Factory—The first Protestant Missionaries—The Chase—Attempts at Agriculture..... 221

CHAPTER VII.—Events of 1826-7—Famine and Starvation among the Hunters—A Severe Winter—Thirty Perish from Cold and Starvation—The Terrible Flood—The Red River Valley becomes a Continuous Lake—The Damages—Trade and Commerce—Agriculture and the Produce Market..... 245

CHAPTER VIII.—Progress of the Settlements—Arrival of Colonists at Red River—Erection of a New Fort—The Difficulties of Stock-Raising—The Unfortunate Sheep Speculation—Driving Sheep from Kentucky to Red River..... 264

CHAPTER IX.—The Experimental Farms—Early Produce Markets—Sale of the Colony to the Hudson's Bay Company—The French Half-Breeds threaten to Revenge an Assault Committed on One of their Number—The Hudson's Bay Company Forced to make Slight Concessions..... 278

CHAPTER X.—The New Council—Laws Passed—The Law Courts—Judicial Districts—Politics—Introduction of the Jury System—Public Flogging and its Results—Damage by Frosts—Non-Arrival of Supplies..... 287

CHAPTER XI.—The Objectional Monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Co.—Settlers Fretting under the Yoke of Oppression—The Early Tariff—Long Delayed Vengeance—Growing Breach between Metis and the Hudson's Bay Co.—The Indians and the Half-Breeds—War and Peace—Arrival of the Sixth Royals—The Metis Resisting the Authority of the Hudson's Bay Company—Celebrating their Success..... 295

CHAPTER XII.—The Pembina Treaty—The Great Flood of 1852—Judicial—The Mails—Arrival of Dr. Schultz—A Printing Press—Mr. Dallas succeeds Governor Simpson—William MacTavish becomes Governor, and Difficulties follow—The Sioux Massacre—The Riot over the Case of the Rev. Mr. Corbett..... 300

CHAPTER XIII.—Events from 1863 to 1868—The Indians—Ravages of the Grasshoppers—Struggles between the Colonists and the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company—The "Nor'-Wester"—Agitation for Union with Canada—Hon. Dr. Schultz's Conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company..... 315

CHAPTER XIV.—The Crop of 1868—Famine—Relief—Union with Canada—Resolutions of Hon. Mr. Macdougal—Debate on acquiring the North-West Territories—Opposition to the Annexation—The Resolutions adopted..... 324

PAGE

CHAPTER XV.—The Imperial Government requires that terms should be made with the Hudson's Bay Company before the transfer takes place—The terms finally agreed to—Act passed providing a Territorial Government—Surveys—Hon. W. Macdougall appointed Governor—Hon. Joseph Howe's visit to the Territory—Mr. Macdougall warned not to enter the Territory—The situation in the Colony—Mr. Macdougall driven out of the Territory 331

CHAPTER XVI.—Opposition in the Colony to a Union with Canada—Bishop Taché's objections—The first Steamer on the Red River—The Meeting at River Sale—Apathy of the Hudson's Bay Company's Officers—Stoppage of the Mails—Occupation of Fort Garry—The Insurrection assumes formidable proportions—Riel summons a Convention—Mr. MacTavish issues a Proclamation—Meeting of the Convention—Passage of a "Bill of Rights"..... 345

CHAPTER XVII.—Action of the Canadian Government—Mr. Macdougall issues two Proclamations—The Mission of Colonel Dennis—Its failure—Affairs in Winnipeg—Capture of Dr. Schultz—Declaration of Independence—The Rebel Flag—Arrival of the Canadian Commissioners 362

CHAPTER XVIII.—Inactivity of the Canadian Commissioners—Riel's Official Organ—Escape of Prisoners—Mass Meeting—Escape of Dr. Schultz from Prison—The Convention—The second "Provisional Government" formed—Appointment of Delegates to Canada—The rising at Kildonan—Capture of the Portage Detatchment—The First Blood Spilled—Major Boulton Condemned to Death—Mr. Smith Electioneers for Riel—Dr. Schultz's Escape to Lake Superior 375

CHAPTER XIX.—The Dark Crime of the Rebellion—The Murder of Thomas Scott—The mock "Court Martial"—Its Secretary's Account of it—Mr. Smith's Account of his Efforts to Save Scott's Life—Rev. George Young's Account of how Scott was Butchered—Mysterious Disappearance of the Body—The Reign of Terror..... 393

CHAPTER XX.—Bishop Taché's Mission—A Series of Mistakes—Meeting of the "Provisional" Parliament—The Delegates leave for Ottawa—Hoisting the Union Jack—Review of Bishop Taché's Action in Promising a General Amnesty..... 408

CHAPTER XXI.—Excitement in Canada over Scott's Murder—Father Richot and Alfred Scott Arrested on their Arrival in Ottawa—Tried and Discharged—Terms agreed on by the Delegates and the Dominion Government—Passage of the "Manitoba Act"—Provisions of the Act..... 421

PAGE

CHAPTER XXII.—A Military Expedition to Red River determined on—The Terms on which the Expedition was sent—Preparations for the Expedition—The Militia Contingent—How it was Drafted—Colonel Wolseley appointed to Command the Expedition—The Stoppage of the "Chicora"—The Progress of the Troops from Prince Arthur's Landing to Red River—The Arrival at Fort Garry—The Flight of Riel 434

CHAPTER XXIII.—Arrival of Lieut.-Governor Archibald—The Advantage of Riel's Flight—Governor Archibald's Conciliatory Course—The Death of Goulet—Why Regular Troops should have been left at Fort Garry—A Census taken—First Local Legislature—The "Fenian Raid"—A Contemptible Fizzle—Arrest of "General" O'Neil and his Release by U. S. Authorities—The second Expedition to Red River—Offer of $5,000 by the Ontario Government for the Arrest of the Murderers of Scott—Riel Assisted by the Dominion Government to Leave the Country..... 459



THE LATE HONORABLE DONALD GUNN

MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF MANITOBA.—CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE.

The Burland Desbarats Lith. Co. Montreal.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF THE LATE

HON. DONALD GUNN.

There is no finer trait known to mankind than the honor and respect accorded men who have risen above adverse and obscure conditions, and "won their spurs" upon that honestest of all battle fields, the one whose fray opens with the morning of their life and ends only with its close.

Nowhere is this recognition so fully made, this sympathy so quickly avouched as on this continent, and nowhere on this continent has literary merit achieved a right to be heard, under such unique and secluded circumstances, as a success won in the inner wastes of that vast wilderness known, till of late, as the Territory of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company.

The condition of individual life in this—save to the trader—unknown region was that of singular bodily vigor, the most robust and assured vitality, the natural outcome of the hardy simplicity yet fullness of fare, the pure atmosphere and healthful alternations of exercise and repose common to the European adventurers in the ranks of the great trading corporation; conditions that bred and sustained the ambitious enterprise so essential to exploration, and the establishment of—in unknown and hazardous regions—a traffic with the wild tribes and savage peoples whom they encountered, a record of which—could it be known—would furnish the nervous thrilling annals of the British race with matter equal to any that has gone before.

Tasks like these, and daily kindred essay—dwarf lesser and more tranquil habitudes, are not an atmosphere for men

on studious thoughts intent, the few books that found their way inland, standard and valuable as they were, were only enough to keep alive the traditions of the youth, heir-looms and links that recalled the distant homes across the water and seas, subordinate entirely, a rule which found rare exceptions.

Prominently one whose scholarly instinct was of a verity a part of his nature, the author of the History of which this brief notice is a prefix, Donald Gunn, was born in the Parish of Halkirk in the County of Caithness, Scotland, in the year 1797, and sprang from that strong and fertile class of peasant farmers whose health of body and mind—nurtured in the frugal simplicity of their native hills—has furnished so many worthy sons to the stout old land that gave them birth. A land whose scant nurture and limited scope, while it conserves so much, yet breeds a necessity enriching other shores than those of the rugged peninsula stretching its rocky arms into the wild northern seas, sending out, from time to time, to the great unoccupied spaces her colonizing children, who achieve by virtue of inherent and trained qualities—that stand them ever in stead—a success second to none, if equalled by any.

Of the children of the tenant of the old farm house in the strath of Braeholme, two furnish worthy proof of this fact, an elder son seeking at an early day his fortune in the wilds of Australia, becoming in due course of time one of the largest wool growers and sheep farmers in the colony; the other, the subject of our memoir, who turning his face to the west, wrought out amid the ice and snow of the northern land, not only fair fortune but an honored name.

It was in the Parish School of Halkirk that the blue-eyed, fair-haired Scotch lad first mastered the mystic signs that were to prove to him in after years, such unvarying delight. Here the speech of the Hills took precedence, and the Gaelic (the tongue the Scotsmen fondly boast contains all others), found an apt and loving pupil; one who to the latest years

of his life knew no poet king save Ossian, no loftier flight than that of the strong wing of the early Scottish bard, whose bold imaginings conned by the boy on the mist clad heights of the tempestuous shore, resonant with the mighty music of the sea, found quick interpretation, and were framed in kindred elevation, leaving a picture no time could fade.

Secondary, came the alien English—the strange classic spoken by the Southerns—that lent dignity to the little school-house, whose curriculum boasted these two alone, yet in themselves an education holding all of flexibility and power that written or spoken thought demands, an equipment, seeming slender, in reality full of pith.

Happily for the boy, the hills and valley, the storm and sunshine on the heather-clad braes, the glory and changeful lights of his mountain, sea girt home, these too were his teachers. Here following the herds, or watching the browsing, wandering sheep, he drank in a tranquil strength he little wot of, received the silent benison of nature, knitting together the robust tissues that make life a harmony, a forceful quietude, breeding strength for cheerful essay of all tasks, admirably fitted for the one that now came quickly to his youthful hand.

The Hudson's Bay Company, who had depots and shipping ports on the neighbouring islands, had long been in the habit of mainly recruiting their force of servants among the hardy, frugal people in the north of Scotland and the Orkney Isles. Their ships were the 'argosies' that freighted fortunes from the distant shores of Hudson's Bay ; and their ships were to the simple youth of the coast—wearied with an unrenumerative toil that held no future—the brave craft that would bear them to a better fate. The slender stipend promised seeming, by home comparison, large indeed.

Young Donald, now some sixteen summers, urged by such thoughts, and a love of wandering that seems instinctive at a certain period of life, aware of the large number of families being sent out by the Earl of Selkirk, engaged with the local

agent, and in the year of grace, 1813, found himself duly enrolled as a servant of the great fur trading company, and bound for York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, in company with the Pilgrim Fathers of the North-West, now widely known as the Selkirk settlers.

The future historian will yet linger over the pages of this volume, in seeking to portray anew the story of these people. No record of colonial life is more affecting than the tearful embarkation of these cottagers, their hardships at the bay, and the culminating and dreadful distresses in which they and their helpless families were plunged on their arrival at the Red River, caused by their miserable and unexpected involvment in the deadly strife and murderous competition of the two great rival companies, their own protectors and the wild half-savage men of the "North-West."

The suffering is so real and persistent, their patience so admirable, their helpless acceptance of the most grievious situation so simple and unostentatious, that it hardly seems real; deepening our sympathy and admiration as we look upon the picture of to-day, the smiling farms of their children and descendants, where plenty and peace brood over the spot fraught to their progenitors with terror, flight and distress.

The life of a "Company man"—in the phrase of the country—is either fraught with incident or entirely uneventful, being simply a matter of locality. "The Severn District," abutting upon "the Bay," in which Mr. Gunn passed his ten years of service, was the natural stronghold of the Hudson's Bay men, peopled by peaceful, inoffensive Indians, and productive of no marked event, while at the same time the plains to the west—as is seen in this narrative—were, with the Red River country, the theatre of a warfare so fatal to the contestants as to impel the coalition of the great rivals, the North-West Company being merged into that of the Hudson's Bay in the year 1821.

But the time, to a man of Mr. Gunn's energetic character, and thirst for knowledge, was not—if barren of event—unprofitably spent. His vicinity to the great depot of the north, and his early promotion to the position of a lesser postmaster, threw him continually into the society of the leading men of the Company, from whose conversation he derived a great store of exact information touching the past and contemporaneous history of the great governing Corporation. He was also enabled to acquire, by loan or purchase, books, and the digest of his acquisitions at this period, as shown in conversation and reminiscences in after years, was of singular fullness and value. An immense amount of local and character detail of the most unique and interesting description has, by his decease, been forever lost to the lesser records of our colonial history, a loss as great to us in the future as would have been the early destruction of "Pepy's Diary" to the English people.

The year 1819 was to Mr. Gunn alike a memorable and happy one, he then marrying Margaret, the eldest daughter of James Swain, Esquire, the officer in charge of the York District, a union blessed and fortunate in every respect—one unbroken for a period of fifty years.

That the newly married couple were in no danger of being at the time of their marriage enervated by luxury, Mr. Gunn would, with a keen recollection of the time and their freedom from care and grief, amusingly relate. In addition to the usual allowance of small stores, their outfit of meats and breadstuffs was more suggestive than real, consisting of a "flint trade gun," ammunition, and twine for nets. The hardship was but in seeming, game and fish abounded, Indians and traders alike resorted to their well stocked "preserves" for subsistence, and, possibly, the jaded epicures of the city would have envied the young couple their keen enjoyment of their woodland fare.

A deprivation more felt was at times when in recent possession of a treasured book, to be without candles or oil.

when thinly split pitch pine fagots would light up the house, drag from their shadowy coverts the finest print, and convert the snug log dwelling, nestled in evergreens, into a hall of learning, where each recurring page folded down and conserved satisfactions remembered through life.

It being found inexpedent by the Hudson's Bay Company after the absorption of the North-West, to maintain so large a force as the united employés of the late Company and its own, certain reductions were determined upon, and Mr. Gunn gladly availed himself of the opportunity to retire. With his wife and newly born son, he followed his old friends, the "Selkirk Settlers," to the Red River, settling in what is now the Parish of St. Andrews, but, which he and a few friends of certainly ambitious loyalty for the time, named "Little Britain," scarce foreseeing that their tiny speck of civilization would ripen so quickly, and assure here and to the west a "Greater Britain."

The locality chosen, however, proved to be a good one, and drew about it a more than usually intelligent class of "freemen," as the retired servants of the Company were called; among them Mr. William Smith, an English worthy full of strong, honest points, one of the most genial and humorous of men, who had also married a daughter of Mr. Swain, and was after appointed Secretary to the Council of Assiniboia and Clerk of the Local Courts, an office which he held until his death.

Happily for the new farmers, these were the halcyon days of the hunters. Buffalo were near and plenty, the net was ever in the water, sturgeon and 'gold eyes' daily fair. Without ploughs, tools or cattle, their first attempts at agriculture were of the rudest description; putting down wheat with a hoe, the quantity of seed is not hard to surmise, yet from such a beginning ere many years—aided by his stout sons—a spacious stone house with ample stabling for the large stock of horses and horned animals, and abundant grain, made the homestead of Donald Gunn one of the

foremost in the entire settlement, one whose abundance made glad many a luckless soul.

After an interval of ten years spent in active farming, Mr. Gunn found himself, by the increasing size and usefulness of his large family so relieved from personal attention to the farm, that he was enabled to take charge of the Parish School established, and, with the exception of the very slight contributions of the parents, supported by the Mission Society of the English Church.

This task, one held in the highest honor and respect in those primitive days—to the shame of our own diminished and unwise estimate be it spoken—was one so congenial to his taste, that, fortunately for the youth of both sexes in his charge, it was continued without intermission by him for the long period of eighteen years.

A period of usefulness in one of the highest and most responsible functions possible to an individual, one which while training others has disciplined and fitted for distinction many of our best thinkers and actors in the world of statecraft and of letters.

This was, in the case of Mr. Gunn, very distinctly avouched, not only in the career of numbers of his pupils who attained to positions of public trust and honor, but even more certainly, if less marked, in the sustained life impress made upon all, intelligence bearing fruit by many a fireside, unseen rivulets trained to fertilize and make glad an otherwise barren field.

Had the classes in charge of Mr. Gunn been fired with the same student ardor—simple and pure love of knowledge for its own sake—as their teacher, his task, always an arduous one, would have been slight indeed. Its compensation lay in the fact that he was at last at the centre of all literary lore in the North-West, in contact with such varied and sufficient printed erudition as made him more than content.

When, later, made custodian and librarian in his own house of the only public collection of books in the country, he

was fairly environed with satisfaction, each tome a silent friend.

It is hardly to be supposed that Mr. Gunn, with his activity of thought and broad well won culture, could be other than stirred by impulses looking beyond the school-room and farm. The hardly wrought settlers had at last emerged from the pressure that beset them, and were day by day assuring themselves of greater comfort, stirred by certainties that held within them a future. The governmental structure under which they rested was alike primitive and paternal. But a paternal government is in its nature despotic, and the tradition of their race was averse to restraint however beneficient, unaccompanied by representation, the moulding hand of the governed.

This they did not have. The Council of Assiniboia, the members of which were composed of leading English and French settlers, the Recorder or Judge of the Court, the Sheriff and all officers connected in any way with the simple machinery of the Government, were appointees of the Hudson's Bay Company. The settlers were in fact without any representation or weight whatever—a strange anomaly under the British constitution—one which, failing in a single point, had cost the Crown the thirteen original colonies now forming the United States.

But, if the anomaly was strange, the circumstances which begot it were more so. The presence of the settlers was due to the action of a great controlling member of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The exigence that had prompted the settlement had long ago ceased to exist, but the settlement remained to be administered as circumstances might require.

The Company was a great chartered monopoly, with ascertained governing rights, and finding occasion to use them had formulated such as they deemed sufficient for the time and population, and it is hardly compatible with the least knowledge of human nature to suppose that they would per-

mit—much less initiate themselves—the slighest infringement on their chartered rights.

To grant the settlers representation and then limit or nullify their legislative action would be idle. Both the settlers and the Company were right in the positions they assumed; the one to desire and insist on responsible government; the other to guard their immunities and privileges at all points.

The lesson to be deduced even at this day, so remote from the charter, is one adverse to the existence of any monopoly whatever.

We have sought to make clear by the briefest summary the causes of an agitation that shook the little settlement of Red River to its centre, in order to illustrate the public spirit and self-sacrifice of Mr. Gunn, who took a leading part in all movements tending to establish a responsible Government in the country—drafting petitions to the Imperial and Canadian Parliaments, presiding at the numerous meetings called for discussion of the theme, one looking forward to the formation of either a Colonial Government under the Crown, or adoption and recognition by Canada.

By his frank utterance and open effort he certainly sacrificed all chance of a seat in the Council of Assiniboia, at that time an object of laudable ambition to the leading men in the settlement, but lived to know that the agitation was not without fruit; it, conjointly with the establishment of a press by Mr Caldwell, directing attention to the country and hastening the negotiations which ended in the purchase of the Company's rights in the vast domain over which they had so long held undisputed sway. Certainly the most strenuous ambition or pronounced capacity found but meagre scope in the days of which we write, but, both by the old and new *regime* Mr. Gunn's service was sought to fill various local positions of trust; he being from a very early day joined in the magistracy, presiding as President of the Court of Petty Sessions in his District, and was after appointe

Police Magistrate and Justice of the Peace for the Province, Postmaster and Inspector of Fisheries.

These positions are mentioned as showing mainly the unbroken confidence extending over a long lapse of years felt by all classes in the integrity and ability of Mr. Gunn, who, upon the formation of the new Government, waiving his just claims to the representation of his District in the Dominion Parliament as too remote and arduous a task for one of his now advanced years, accepted a seat in the Legislative Council or Upper House of the Manitoba Assembly, which he held until its discontinuance as a public body,some five years later, voting unhesitatingly himself for its abolition when convinced that its slight function was alike unneeded and an unnecessary stress upon the slender resources of the new Province. During what is popularly known as the "Red River troubles" Mr. Gunn had a somewhat unexpected and undesired experience in legislation, being chosen a member to the Provisional Assembly, organized during the winter of the armed resistance to the entry of Hon. Mr. Macdougall, and the arrival of the troops in the spring.

This Assembly began its sittings during a period of great solicitude and apprehension to the English population of the settlement, and Mr. Gunn, who had been one of the most pronounced and active friends of the incoming government, only yielded to the urgent entreaties of the people of St. Andrews to appear as their delegate, in the hope that such joint action on the part of the English and French delegates might be had as would allay the present alarm, and provide a peaceful solution to questions that momentarily threatened collision between these isolated and kindred peoples.

This action was a judicious one ; and although productive of no marked effect, in one sense, yet the joint assemblage of the two races, not only recalled their former unity, but diverting the action of the ruling party from appearance of

secrecy and surprise, gave confidence and tranquility to this widely-spread and, for the first time, divided community.

We turn from passing mention of those troublous times, remembrance of which is now quickly fading out, to a theme more in accordance with a thoughtful life.

The spacious stone farm-house, to which we have adverted, was always the hospitable home, alike of the purposless tourist or the wandering Savant who sought its well known doors in search of special facts in the physical geography or natural history of the vast *terra incognita* of which the Red River settlement was the threshold.

At Donald Gunn's, the stranger found not only the warmth of a home, but an intelligence which threw light on all detail of purposed travel and entered into and discussed every theme of scientific research.

The grateful and unexpected fact was so thoroughly appreciated by that late accomplished and adventurous ornithologist, Mr. Kennicott, of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington City, that it at once led to Mr. Gunn being appointed as correspondent and contributing member to that institution, nor can we in any way so well give an idea of the consideration in which Mr. Gunn's services were held, as by reproducing from the published report of the Secretary of the Institute, 1878, its regretful estimate of his value.

"In addition to its irreparable loss in the death of its late Secretary, the institution has also to lament that of a number of valued correspondents

"Among those to be first mentioned is Mr. Donald Gunn, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, a veteran correspondent of the Smithsonian Institution, one of the earliest of its meteorological observers, and one who for more than twenty years has been a constant contributor of information and collections relating to the natural history of the North-West. * * * * * * * As stated, the first connection of Mr. Gunn with the Smithsonian Institute was that of a meteorological observer. His long continued observations of

the weather were among the most reliable of those within its archives. His contributions of objects of natural history were still more important, embracing, as they did, nearly every branch in the various classes of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and numerous collections in archæology and ethnology. Few reports of the Institution since 1850 are without some reference to his services.

"In 1866 he made a special exploration, in behalf of the Institution, of the region west of Lake Winnipeg, spending considerable time in the vicinity of Shoal Lake and Lake Manitoba, in the course of which he collected large numbers of skins and eggs of birds; among the latter, several previously entirely unknown in museums. Within a year correspondence was in progress with him in regard to the renewal of this exploration. * * * * *

"It is understood that he has left behind him a minutely detailed journal of his experiences and his relations to the colony in which he lived for over fifty years, which will doubtless be published on account of its great historical value."

As we transfer these words, we are moved with regret that we cannot also transfer a picture of the modest essay and quaint surroundings attending Red River foray into the domain of science at an early day.

The simple outfit of canoe or cart heralding research into distant fields and haunts, whose wretched 'fauna' were made reluctant accessions to an undesired catalogue. Luckless snakes and other "Reptilia," unconscious of their good fortune, plunged in perpetual alcohol,—their manner of taking off envied to the core by the drauthy souls who contemned strongly the "waste of whuskey."

The picture, again, of the veteran seeker after the scattered type that, reset, tells the strange story of buried days; intent on fossil evidences, sought among the "debris" of the limestone outcrop on the River. The honest neighbours looking askance at this, to them "blind work;" one a

delver in quarries and unconscious iconoclast of unnumbered trilobites, being moved to say; "Eh mon! were he but looking for gold now." He was, but of a kind not found in the shining sand; rathert he sort that illuminates scrolls, fair to eyes peering steadfastly into the twilight of the past.

The personal characteristics of Mr. Gunn were of the most engaging character. In an intercourse of nearly twenty years we fail to recall other than the most genial and unaffected cordiality to all; superadded to this, his varied powers of conversation, replete with valuable matter gathered from all sources, his sense of humor lighting up old Gaelic lore, the traditions of the Vi-king race from whom he sprung, the rough adventures and eccentricities of the hero worthies of "the trade," the early and chequered life in the settlement, with a vein of grounded culture running through all, made him to be one of the most companionable and instructive of men.

An elder in the Kirk for many years, Mr. Gunn's liberality of thought—in this direction—would have been marked were it not for the general charity and largest tolerance universal in the country. The three churches, English, French and Scotch, resting in close and harmonious vicinage.

Latterly, when he had retired mainly from public affairs, nearly all of Mr. Gunn's time was occupied in the preparation of this history, arranging his collated facts and personal experience with such care and patience as will doubtless cause it to be—as he intended it should be—an authority upon all the matters coming under his hands.

Towards the close of his life, his sight failing him, it was his greatest pleasure to have some one read aloud to him from his favorite authors, his mind retaining its force and clearness until a few hours before his death.

This occurred on the last day of November, 1878, in his own house, surrounded by his family, the parting being so peaceful as to be literally falling asleep.

In tracing the career of Donald Gunn from his boyhood, on the Strath of Braeholme to the close, and setting forth the detail of his faithful life, we cannot, knowing him so well, resist the impression that his truest and best success lay not either in public affairs nor ripe attainment, but was garnered under his own roof tree—was most assured in the affectionate devotion and unbroken regard of his friends.

In the primitive simplicity and honest warmth of the society of which he was the patriach and head, in the confidence he inspired and the good he was enabled to do, lay his best guerdon. In this sphere he won the merit deserved by so few, for of him it can, of a truth, be said "the world was better in that he had lived."

F. L. H.

HISTORY OF MANITOBA.

PART I.

EARLY HISTORY—1500 TO 1835,

BY THE LATE HON. DONALD GUNN.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY—VOYAGES OF THE CABOTS—CARTIER'S EXPLORATIONS—VOYAGE OF ROBERVAL—CHAMPLAIN—DISCOVERY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COUNTRY—CONTEST BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH FOR THE FUR TRADE—THE FIRST FORTS AND FACTORIES—EARLY TRADE STATISTICS—LAST APPEARANCE OF THE FRENCH IN THE HUDSON'S BAY COUNTRY.

THE discovery of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico by the great Christopher Columbus, in 1492, excited the ambition and cupidity of the English and French Monarchs. The former, Henry the Seventh, in 1497 commissioned John Cabot, a Venetian, to sail to the west in search of unknown lands, and to take possession for the Crown of England of all places that he might find in the course of his voyage. Cabot was so far successful as to discover and touch at some points of the American Continent. The following year, Sebastian Cabot, son of the former discoverer, was commissioned by the English Monarch, and performed a most extensive exploratory voyage, along the eastern shores of America from Honduras to Labrador. Various circumstances concurred to restrain Henry's successors from prosecuting the brilliant career commenced in his reign.

The immediate object of these voyages was the discovery of a north-west passage to India. But, although unsuccessful in the main object, yet these voyages justly entitle the English to the high

distinction of being the first to discover the American Continent. But they did not for years attempt to establish a trade or plant colonies in the lately discovered country. But while England reposed on her laurels, her energetic Galic neighbor fitted out an expedition in search of a passage to the rich countries of the East. The expedition, we are told, coasted the American Continent from Carolina to the northern extremity of Nova Scotia. It was then appropriated in the name of his most Christian Majesty, under the magnificent title of New France; but the primary object of the voyage had not been accomplished; but in 1534 Jacques Cartier, an experienced and able seaman of St. Malo, was sent out with a similar view. He seems to have steered for Newfoundland or for the Labrador coast, and he is said to have passed between the Magdalen Isles and entered the Bay of Chaleurs, which name it still retains. He landed on its coast and took formal possession of the surrounding country in the French king's name. The only fruit of Cartier's first expedition was that it led to the discovery of the St. Lawrence afterwards. Two of the natives whom he took on board at Gaspe and carried with him to France, were the first parties who informed him that the river existed. Cartier departed on his second voyage in May, 1535; he had three vessels under his command, and hoisted his penant on board the *Hermine*, of about 110 tons burden, the two others of much less tonage. After having been separated by stress of weather, they arrived at the appointed rendevous in the month of July.* And, after enjoying a few days rest, they sailed up the great Gulf, and on considering the route which he pursued, we believe that his two savages were of great service to him; but we are not informed whether they were those taken at Gaspe the previous year and carried to France, or taken on board at some point along the Gulf at which he landed. Be that as it may, we are informed that he had been conducted by two savages taken on board and entered the mouth of the river, and ascended to a point fully 200 leagues up. Reaching a fair island, since named D'Orleans, Cartier set his two native guides ashore to treat with the people of the country, who fled from them at first, but soon returned, and in their canoes of bark quite

* "Histoire du Canada" of F. G. Garneau, Esq.

encircled the ships, offering to their crews supplies of maise, fish and fruits. Cartier gave all a kind reception, and made them presents. Impatient to visit Hochelaga, Cartier set sail for that place, leaving Stadicona on the 19th of September; the voyage up the river occupied thirteen days. Hochelaga was on the island where the City of Montreal now stands.

When the French appeared crowds of natives came out to meet them, as the inhabitants of Stadicona had done before. Here the natives were found dwelling in a village consisting of about fifty wooden houses of considerable dimensions, surrounded by a triple line of high palisades, which indicated, to the new comers, that the native tribes lived in constant dread of each other. After ascending to the summit of the Mountain on the island, and viewing therefrom the great extent of country that lay before him, he gave the hill the name of Royal Mount.

"Cartier returned to St. Charles River, and fearing that the "fickle savages might become hostile during the winter, where all "means of escape would be cut off," he strengthened the palisades of an enclosure which his men had, while he was absent, made about the vessels, adding thereto some pieces of artillery. Garneau informs us that the cold of the winter became intense in December. Scurvy of a very malignant character broke out among the French, and so deplorable was their condition that of 110 men on board the three vessels, three or four only were free from disease and able to attend on the sick. Twenty-six men died between the beginning of December and the first of April. The living, too much weakened in body to open a grave for the dead, the few who were yet able to crawl about, deposited the bodies under the snow. The survivors were at death's door. Cartier had become scorbatic. Fortunately for them, at this critical moment, a native visited them and told their leader of the means of cure, which being resorted to, did cure all the ailing Frenchmen in a few days. Such were the miseries endured by the French the first winter they passed in the New World. On the return of spring, Cartier departed for France, taking with him, for presentation to its king, several natives, among them Donacona. Their presence in the

land soon began to be felt beyond the limits of their actual possessions.

The fame of these wonderful strangers spread over lake and forest to remote tribes, many of whom hastened, from far distant regions, to the white man's settlements to gratify their curiosity by the sight of a people of whom they had heard so many strange accounts, and at the same time to participate in the rich presents bestowed by the military commanders of New France on the native tribes, of which firearms and ammunition always formed a part, which in course of time enabled the tribes, who resided near the French settlements, to drive their countrymen who lived further west from their hunting grounds, leaving the streams and forests where their forefathers fished and hunted, to be occupied by the new comers, who struggled on extending their agricultural settlements, and, in doing so, had, no doubt, to encounter a large amount of such toils, privations and dangers as have been experienced by all, who at a later period and under more favorable circumstances, have formed settlements in the forests of the New World. However slow their progress had been its course was westward.

"A chief, who vaunted to have travelled much, and professed to "have seen in the western regions of the country, men who wore "woollen garments. None of these savages, thus expatriated, ever "returned, all dying before 1541, the earliest year after the "present that the French again visited Canada."

When the Sieur de Roberval, a nobleman of Picardy, who stood high in the estimation of his Sovereign, asked and obtained a Royal edict by which he was empowered to raise volunteers, form a permanent establishment and govern it in the King's name. Cartier had the command of the vessels assigned for the transportation of the Colonists to America. He set out with five ships, early in the summer of 1541. We are informed that, after a stormy passage of three months, he arrived at Newfoundland, where he remained for some time expecting to be joined by his patron, Roberval, who was to have followed him; but he came not, and Cartier, pursuing his voyage, ascended the St. Lawrence and cast anchor before Quebec. The Colonists, on landing, com-

menced clearing the land, near by, for cultivation. Leaving his people thus occupied, Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence, hoping to get above the rapids, or Sault St. Louis, but failed in the attempt. "Autumn came on and passed away bringing no tidings of Roberval." Cartier, therefore, prepared to winter in the country, but despatched two of his vessels to St. Malo to inform the King of his own proceedings, and to make enquiry why Roberval delayed coming out. Cartier and his remaining people were allowed to pass the winter in peace; but in spring following, the savages manifesting a hostile spirit, he thought it fitting to embark his Colonists and return home. He set sail for France about the very time that Roberval was leaving it, with three ships, in which were several gentlemen adventurers, besides 200 other Colonists of both sexes. Insuperable obstacles had, it seems, prevented Roberval from joining Cartier the year before. According to the statement of a document lately found in the archives of the Depot de la Marine, Paris* the two squadrons met at a short distance from Quebec, and Roberval caused Cartier to turn back, in view of founding a settlement in the Isle d'Orleans. And if we may confide in another version of the alleged encounter, it took place near St. John's, Newfoundland, a more likely locality, the narrator adding, that Cartier declined to follow Roberval, as perceiving that the latter desired to rob him of a part of his discoveries. Be all this as it may, we know for certain that Roberval reached his destination in safety; that he sent home, in autumn following, two of his vessels to inform the King of his arrival, and to request that provisions might be sent out to him next year.†

We know also that fifty of his Colonists perished during the winter 1542-43, and that the Governor started, in June following, with 70 men, upon an expedition for the interior, in quest of the country which the savages spoke of as abounding in precious metals and stones of price. This exploratory voyage to the interior was less successful than the former performed by Cartier. The extant relation of it by Roberval himself is incomplete; but had he discovered the country in the West, reported by the savages of the

* "Documents du Paris."
†Vide Garneau's History of Canada.

East as abounding in gold, silver and precious stones—missed by his predecessor, of course—surely some indications of its existence, if discovered, would be found in the extant account, fragmentary though it is; from which, however, we learn the discouraging fact, that before the expedition returned to Quebec, one of Roberval's vessels sank, and eight of his men were drowned. Intelligence of Roberval's arrival in Canada arrived in Paris just as war was to recommence between Francis the First and Charles the Fifth. Instead of sending the supplies demanded, some historians have stated that the King ordered Cartier in 1543 to bring Roberval and his Colonists back to France. And thus ended the first attempt at colonizing by France in Canada. The war with the Emperor. The rulers of France lost sight of Canada. Francis First died 31st March, 1547. He was succeeded by Henry II., and in 1549 Roberval organized his second expedition for Canada; but which he was destined never to reach, as he and all his followers perished in the passage.

From Roberval's unfortunate expedition in 1549 the French nation seem to have neglected, if not forgotten, Canada, and confined all their efforts for trade and colonization to Acadia until the year 1607, when the Sieur de Monts abandoned Acadia and turned his attention to Canada. We are informed that, in doing this, he had two objects in view, *i. e.*, a desire to enlarge the French possessions in America, and a hope of being able at some future time, to reach the Pacific by a north-west passage. After having obtained from the King a renewal of his privileges for one year, M. de Monts appointed Champlain his Lieutenant, and along with his partners equipped two vessels, one to traffic at Tadusac, the other to bear the Colonists who were to commence a settlement near the St. Lawrence. The expedition arrived at Stadacona (Quebec) on the third day of July. Champlain's people disembarked at the point of land now occupied by the lower town of the present City of Quebec. They forthwith cleared a place and erected temporary cabins for sheltering places. The historian informs us that Champlain, having set his hand in earnest to the work, soon saw a fort rise before him of some extent and respectable strength, while several were busied in clearing land for tillage

or in other useful and and urgent works. The foundations of a town yet to become one of the most famous cities in the New World, were now being laid in the presence of wondering redmen of the woods. From the building of the above fort by Champlain, we are to date the permanent establishment of the French in Canada.

Champlain, soon after he commenced clearing and building, discovered that some of his Colonists were plotting his assassination, and on enquiry found that one Duval, was the originator of the conspiracy. Champlain had ample powers conferred upon him by his sovereign, Legislative, Judicial and Executive. These great powers enabled the Governor to dispose in a summary manner of those who had banded together to destroy his life. Duval was tried and hung, his associates were sent back to France, and, after some time, the King extended his prerogative of pardoning offences to the accused. We are informed that the example thus made sufficed to keep down a spirit of mutiny among the Colonists. Champlain found, or believed that he had found, that since Cartier's time, aboriginal Canada had undergone a great change among its contending tribes. Stadacona and Hochelaga existed no more; and it did not seem that the same native populations, as those of Cartier's day, possessed the country which had those places for their headquarters. Yet the triple line of stockades that surrounded the village of Hochelaga and the raised passageways, with ladders planted for ascending to the platform, with the heaps of stones that lay near by for defence in Cartier's time, showed conclusively that war was the normal condition of those who inhabited Hochelaga. And we may, without any hesitation, add that it was the condition of all the tribes from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic seaboard to the Rocky Mountains.

The country, bordering on the St. Lawrence at the time of Champlain's arrival at Quebec, was occupied by bands of Algonquins, who were engaged in internecine war with the far-famed Iroquois Confederacy. The former, doubtful of holding out against the latter, eagerly sought an alliance with the French. Champlain, though uninformed of the nature and strength of the

Iroquois Confederacy, accepted the proposal above mentioned, and by doing so involved the colony in a war, which with few and short intermissions lasted more than a century. The French commander was naturally anxious, we may suppose, to stand well with his nearest native neighbors. We are informed that he expected that, by securing the friendship of one of the native tribes, he might not only break up the Iroquois Confederation, but ultimately subdue or overawe all other tribes disposed to be troublesome to the French. M. Pontgrave having arrived from Europe with two vessels full of men, Champlain set out with his Indian allies to attack the Cantons, on July 29th, 1609. They met their foes on the borders of the lake which bears the illustrious Frenchman's name. We are informed by the historian that both sides prepared for the combat, which did not take place, however, till next day. During the intervening night the savages beguiled the time with dances, songs and provocative terms launched at the native foe before them, in the style of warriors of the heroic ages of Greece as recorded by Homer.

When day dawned, a body of Iroquois, 200 strong, advanced slowly, but with steady step and much confidence, to the attack, headed by three chiefs, each distinguished by a large bunch of feathers in his head. Champlain's allies, drew up into two separate corps, and put him forward as their leader, he was accompanied by two of his men, the rest of his people not having come up. Their Indian allies told the French to aim principally at the enemy's chiefs. The Iroquois when within thirty steps of their foes, stood still in wonder upon observing the unknown auxiliaries in the van of battle. Recovering from their surprise, they answered a flight of arrows from their adversaries with another; but when the French discharged their firelock and shot dead two of the chiefs, and mortally wounded another, the entire horde fled to the woods, and, being hotly pursued thither by their triumphant antagonists, several more were killed and some taken prisoners. We are informed by the historian that none of the victors were killed and only fifteen or sixteen wounded. They pillaged the enemy's camp and began a hasty retreat. Evening being come, they camped and took one of their prisoners, and first causing him to sing the

native chant of death, prelusive to his coming fate, they tortured him in the mode usual with them on such occasions. Champlain, shocked with their barbarity, asked leave to put the wretched man out of further pain by a quick despatch; but this was not allowed until the tormentors had exhausted every device of savage cruelty. In this first essay against the white man in Canada, the contending tribes had an opportunity of seeing the destructive effects of the strangers' weapons of war. And Champlain and his countrymen had an example of the ferocity and barbarous cruelty of their new allies. On his return from the above adventure, Champlain set sail for France, where he arrived in due time, and spent the winter of 1609 and 1610. In forming an association for the purpose of carrying on the peltry trade, he obtained a new commission which warranted him to seize every unauthorized vessel he should find trafficing in furs between Quebec and the sources of the St. Lawrence. Armed with the above arbitrary power, which was to continue for eleven years, he returned to his Government of Canada. He had very little time to attend to the commercial affairs of the New Colony before he was summoned to the field by his allies to do battle against the once dreadful, now despised, Iroquois, who were hovering in considerable force near the embouchere of the Richelieu. The battle was joined; the fire-arms of the French decided the fate of the Iroquois, who were all cut to pieces or drowned in the river. At the close of the engagement, 200 Hurons appeared on the field. Most of these, having never seen an European, regarded the persons of the French, their dress, their arms, with astonishment. Little foreseeing the effect these strangers, whom they met now for the first time, would have on their own destiny and on that of their fellow red men. After the above campaign had ended, Champlain returned to France, where he passed the winter. Champlain had many and powerful friends at Court, whose influence procured for him a new commission which empowered him to seize all unauthorized vessels he would find trafficing in peltry between Quebec and the sources of the St. Lawrence. Champlain, thus armed with absolute power, naturally expected great returns from the society's traffic, caused a site to be cleared in the vicinity of Montreal, for

erecting a fort to protect the factory intended to be opened on the island of that name. He concluded at the same time a treaty of alliance and trade with the Hurons, a party of which nation, 200 in number, had come on a visit; and the chiefs gave him permission to commence a settlement in their country if he found its soil suitable for the purpose. In 1615 Champlain ascended the Ottawa, penetrated to Lake Nippissing, and passing on to the south arrived at the glittering waters of Lake Huron and travelling southwards he reached Lake Ontario in July.

These Hurons and Outawas visited Champlain while he was residing at the Sault St. Louis, and urged him to accompany them in their intended expedition against their common enemies the Iroquois, and took the circuitous route by the Ottawa, not solely, we may suppose, for the purpose of exploring these hitherto unknown regions of the West, but for the purpose of better concealing their advance from the enemy. On arriving at Lake Ontario, operations forthwith commenced, for all that was needed was to cross the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois from past defeats became cautious and were found entrenched, and by this means effectually resisted their aboriginal foes, who advanced in a disorderly manner, in spite of all the French could do to regulate their movements. Once repulsed their distrust of themselves became as depressing as their confidence had been high before. Nothing was thought of but retreat, and this was happily effected without loss. Champlain, who had received two wounds in the affair, demanded the aid of two guides to conduct him to Montreal. This being denied, under different pretences, he had to pass the winter among the savages. But he did not pass the season idly. Making himself acquainted with the surrounding regions, and especially with what was then known as the Neutral Nation, Champlain did not return to the Sault St. Louis till the following June. While on the above expedition he received some account of Lake Superior.

Notwithstanding this information, so well calculated to excite the daring intupedity of the bold sons of France, twenty-six years ran their course before any Frenchman had the honor of discovering and the pleasure of launching his birch canoe on the great inland

sea of North America. The kelche gamme of the red man, the Lake Superior of the whites. We learn from history that that honor and that pleasure were reserved for two members of the Society of Jesus, the Fathers Touges and Ruambault. Yet, although history is silent on the subject, we have reason to believe, that these zealous and devoted missionaries, had been preceded by that extraordinary class of men, the celebrated *Courriers des Bois*, who very likely, even at that early period, extended their trapping and trading excursions beyond the western shores of the great lake. If so, we must acknowledge that they were not, if reports be true, the best adapted messengers to prepare the savage mind for the reception of the sublime truth of the Gospel. However desirous the early settlers in Canada might have been of extending their discoveries to the West, they had not been indifferent to the discovery of the country which lay between the St. Lawrence and Hudson's Bay. Some of these traders at an early period explored the great river of the Outawas, some of them reached the height of land which divides the affluents of the Ottawa from the streams that run northward and pour their waters into James' Bay. While their discoveries were carried on to the north, De Grosselier and Raddison, turned their attention to the North-west and about 1666 pushed through Lake Superior, ascended the Kaministgoia River, and fell on the waters that flow north west through Lake La Plui to the Lake of the Woods and thence pass through the Winnipeg River into the lake of that name, and finally pass by the River Nelson into Hudson's Bay. These gentlemen were conducted by the Assiniboines to Hudson's Bay, probably by the Nelson or Hay's Rivers, and after having discovered that great inland sea, they retraced their steps, being still guided and protected by their friends the Assiniboines as far as Lake Superior, whence they proceeded to the settlements on the lower St. Lawrence.

Their sagacity at once pointed out to them the comparative facility and advantage of carrying on the trade through the Bay. On their return to Canada they represented to their countrymen the great benefit that would accrue, not only to the colony, but to the French Nation at large, if trading establishments would be planted

on the shores of Hudson's Bay and the trade carried on through it. In vain did they represent to the vivid imaginations of their fellow Colonists the living treasures that they had seen in the streams and forests through which they had travelled. But owing to incredulity, want of means, and above all owing to the blithing influence of a monopoly, in furs lately established in the colony by the King of France, all parties turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, and remained unmoved by glowing representations placed before them; disappointed in their expectations, and disgusted by the cold indifference of their countrymen in the colony, and having no funds of their own, they turned their thoughts towards France, crossed the Atlantic, and presented their views and wishes in the proper quarter; but, unfortunately for them, their project had no better success in the mother country than it had in the colony. Some of the English Historians have stated that during their stay at Paris, they had been introduced to the English Ambassador at the Court of France, who sent them to England, and provided our adventurers with letters of introduction to several of his influential friends at the English Court who are said to have received the adventurers and persevering Frenchmen with great kindness and entered fully into their views—and several persons of rank and wealth joined in fitting out the Ketch "Nonepariel" under the command of Captain Zachariah Gillam who lived in New England and who probably had sailed north from there and was acquainted with those Northern Seas; Raddison and Grosselier accompanied him. We learn from Gillam's Journal that he sailed from Gravesend the 3rd of June 1668; on the 4th of August he saw Resolution Isle at the entrance of Hudson's Straits; on the 19th he got to Digger's Isle, at the entrance of the bay; and on the 4th September he got in with the East Main in latitude 55° 30 North, and by the 29th to a River called Nemisco from Lake Nemisco from which it drew its waters, but called by them Ruperts River, where they wintered. They were frozen up on the 9th December, and the cold was almost over in April. In June it was very hot when they prepared to sail for England* The proceeds of the adventure must have been remunerative, for on the

*Rebson's Hudson Bay.

return of the Ketch, in 1669, the adventurers, with Prince Rupert and several other great men at their head, applied and obtained an unlimited charter power of all the lands around and beyond the bay; all included within the grant of land was to be called Rupert's land; and with the land the charter proposed to confer an exclusive right of trade on the company. This famous, but much disputed charter, was granted on the 2nd May, 1670. Mr. Charles Bayley was sent over Governor that year in order to begin a factory which accordingly was fixed at Rupert's River where Raddison, De Grosselier and Gillam, who went with Bayley, wintered before. In 1674 after consultation they proposed moving to Moose River in lat. 51 ° 28, where, as being farther from Canada, they expected a better trade. Accordingly the Governor sailed to discover it, and sailed on to what was afterwards known as Albany River in lat. 52 ° 0′ 0′ and extended his discovery to Cape Henrietta Maria in lat. 55 °. In 1673, a Jesuit, a native of England, was sent over land to discover the country and our situation under the pretence of friendship, bringing with him some letters to Captain De Grosselier from his friends there, which gave the Governor suspicion of his corresponding to our prejudice and on this suspicion Raddison and De Grosselier were dismissed the Company's service, upon which they returned to the French in Canada, but whether by sea via England, or by land across the country, we cannot say. De la Poterie in his history of New France, says that Jean Bourdon who was out in the year 1656 was the first Frenchman who was in Hudson's Bay, having sailed round from Canada by the coast of Labrador and landed on the south side of the bay where he met some Indians with whom he formed treaties, and they, hearing of a strange nation in their neighborhood, sent to Quebec in 1661 to begin a trade and to desire that a missionary might be sent to them. Accordingly one was ordered, but the Indians on their return repenting of what they had done, refused to conduct them, so they went back to Canada. Our author further states that when De Grosselier and his companion were dismissed the Hudson's Bay's service they expressed their sorrow for having engaged in it, obtained their pardon in France, and, on their return to Canada, they prevailed with the French company there to join

them and to fit out a bark to take possession of Nelson River, which the English company at that time had not settled. While De Grosselier and Raddison were sailing round in their bark, in 1682, the English Company at the same time resolved to possess Nelson River, and appointed John Radiger Governor, who was to fix a factory there by the advice of Captain Gillam. But before either of them got there Benjamin Gillam had from New England, made a lodgment there; but was not left by his ship above fourteen days before De Grosselier and Raddison arrived. The English had fixed at the mouth of the Nelson River, and the French had entered St. Theresa or Hay's River. Ten days after Bidgar arrived but was ordered away by De Grosselier who had possession of the River. The French and he continued good friends until February, when the French surprised him, put his men on board a rotten ship and sent them down to the bottom of the bay; but carried Bidgar and Dillam to Canada, leaving De Gosselier's Son Chouart and five men to keep possession of Fort Bourbon. This is the account given by the English. There are, however, two other accounts given by the French, differing from each other, and from the above statement. These statements have been made by Messieurs Jermie who was afterwards Governor of Fort Bourbon and by De la Poterie.

Jermie says that De Grosselier hearing of Hudson's Bay from the Indians (Ontawas) upon his return to Canada, engaged some merchants to supply him with the necessary outfit, and sailel to St. Theresa or Hay's River, where he wintered. During the winter some of his people, hunting upon the ice, found that there were some Europeans at the entrance to Nelson River; and informing the Governor, he went and found six Englishmen almost starved to death who submitted to him, telling him that they had been left by a Boston ship which had been forced to sea. After this some savages had told him there were other Englishmen some miles higher up the River. Whereupon he went over feasting night, when they had been drinking freely, surprised them and took eighty prisoners, though, he had but fourteen men. The following year he left his son Chouart with five men to keep the Fort and returned to Canada; but being disgusted with his em-

ployees, who had charged him with concealing part of the cargo, he sent his brother-in-law Raddison to France to complain; but his remonstrances not being regarded he reconciled himself to the English and went to England, whence he returned to the Bay to relieve his nephew and give up the place to the English.

Monsieur De la Poterie says that De Grosselier and Raddison having formed a scheme to possess the Bay, went to Boston and thence to England, (London) and afterwards by the aid of the English Company erected Factories on Rupert, Moose and Albany rivers. By the time this was known in France Mr. Colbert was sent to Descheneau intendant of Canada in May 1678, to contest the possession with the English. De Grosselier and Raddison had repented of the expedition and having obtained their pardon from the French court, returned to Canada where the French formed a company for the Bay and fitted out two small vessels under their command which went to St. Theresa River and built a little Fort. A vessel from Boston arrived three days after with ten men, whom they received as friends permitting them to go to Bourbon, Nelson River, and four days after that a ship arrived from London the crew of which, after coming to land, was opposed by the Fort, and in the contest the ice cutting the cables the ship was lost with fourteen of the crew, the rest implored the succor of the Fort which they in pity granted and gave them a bark to carry them to the bottom of the bay. De Grosselier and Raddison, leaving eight men in the Fort, took the leaders of the interlopers to Quebec and were soon after released by the Governor. De Grosselier and Raddison being disgusted with their associates returned to France where Lord Preston was their abassador from England who engaged Raddison to go again to London and give up the Forts, which his nephew Chouart, commanded which he accordingly did.

At the same time the French Company had sent from Canada two little ships under Montegnie, who, when he came to St. Theresa was surprised to find it in possession of the English. He was therefore obliged to winter on some small river in the neighbourhood, and returned next year with a bad trade. The French Company having suffered a loss of 100,000 livires, Theres Conthey petitioned the French King for redress; who on the 20 May, 1684,

gave them St. Theresa, Hay's River, in possession. Which of the above accounts, is, in general, most correct, we must leave the reader to determine.

From the same authority we learn that in 1685 the Hudson's Bay Company had five flourishing Factories on the Bay, viz: Albany, Moose, Rupert, Nelson and Severn. But in 1686, the Chavalier De Troyes in time of peace went from Canada by land and took Rupert, Moose and Albany Factories. In 1690 Monsieur D'Iberville attempted to take York Factory of which Geyer was commander, but failed of success; however, in sailing southward, he attacked and captured New Severn Factory.

After the French had remained seven years in possession of the Forts on James' Bay, the Hudson's Bay Company, and by the assistance of the Crown, regained possession of their factories. But the following year, 1694, the French carried them, and the following year, by the assistance of the King's ships, the *Bonavintura* and *Seaforth*, they were retaken from the French.

While the British were occupied in regaining their forts, and in restoring their lost trade on James' Bay, the French were not idle. D'Iberville set sail with two ships, the Poli and Charonte, from Canada, carrying with him 120 men, and arrived in Hay's River on the 24th of September. Geyer was still in charge, but less successful than he had been four years before, being compelled to surrender his Fort on the 14th of October.

The French passed the winter in the place, and D'Iberville took his departure on the 20th July, 1695, leaving one Forest in charge of his conquest.

The next year, 1696, it was retaken by the English, who had fitted out four ships for the accomplishment of the above capture. The garrison were carried prisoners to England, among whom was Monsieur Jeronice, where they remained four months. After their return to France, a squadron of five ships was fitted out, consisting of the *Pelican*, of 50 guns; the *Palmier*, of 40 guns; the *Wasp*, the *Profound* and the *Violente*. These were put under D'Iberville's command at Newfoundland, and in Hudson's Straits were met by the *Hampshire*, and two Hudson's Bay ships, the Deering and the Hudson's Bay, which De la Poterie says were of

56, 36 and 32 guns. An engagement ensued with the Profound, but without any success on either side, being separated by the ice. Four of the French ships afterwards took shelter in Danish River, now Churchill. The *Palmier*, having lost her rudder in hard weather, but the *Pelican*, commanded by D'Iberville, arrived at the entrance of Hay's River on the 3rd of September, and next morning the three English ships arrived. The *Pelican* had sent her shallop on shore, but, weighed, stood out to sea, and fought the three English ships. By some unfortunate accident the *Hampshire*, while in the act of veering, overset, upon which the two other ships steered off, but he came up and captured the Hudson's Bay. All on board the *Hampshire*, perished, as the *Pelican* had no boat to relieve them. A storm coming on that night, the *Pelican* was driven ashore and lost, with part of crew, as was also the *Hudson's Bay*. But D'Iverville, with the greater part of his crew, getting safe to shore, upon the arrival of the other ships from Danish River, besieged and took York Fort, and after wintering, returned in the *Profound*. Before his departure he appointed M. Serigny ,Governor, and M. Jeromie, Lieutenant, who was afterwards made Governor in 1708.

The Treaty of Ryswilk was signed in September, 1697, leaving the French in possession of all the settlement along the Bay, except Albany Fort, carrying on an inconsiderable trade for a period of seventeen years, until the Treaty of Utrecht, when all the territories on the Bay were restored to the British. After the Company had regained possession of York Fort, in the year 1718, they built a wooden fort at Churchill, which they named Fort Prince of Wales, and in 1742 they made the first settlement beyond the shores of the Bay, at a distance of 150 miles up the Albany River, as a check to the Indians, who carried their trade from the shores of the Bay to the French in the interior. In 1746 the Company had four small factories and two small houses, in which they did not employ over 150 Europeans, and to carry on the trade at these posts they had three or four small vessels under two hundred tons burden each. The trade principally consisted of those furs which the natives brought down in their birch canoes, scarce large enough to contain two men with an incon-

considerable cargo, and as this abused people receive little or nothing in exchange for their furs, on account of the extravagant standard by which British goods are rated, they brought down no more than would purchase common necessaries and a few trifling toys. In order that we may present a continuous view of the transactions which took place on the shores of the Bay from the Treaty of Utrecht to the year 1782, when Fort Prince of Wales and York Fort were captured and destroyed by La Persuse, we shall present to our readers a few extracts from "The Present State of Hudson's Bay," written by Mr. Edward Umfraville, who served eleven years (from 1771 to 1782) at York Factory on Hudson's Bay, and who afterwards entered into the North-West Company's service and passed a few winters on the Saskatchewan.

The above gentleman gives an account of the Hudson's Bay Company's exports of trading goods and charges attending carrying on their trade and maintaining their factories for ten years, of which we shall give an abstract :—

	£	s.	d.
Amount of trading goods for ten years	52,463	9	0
Factory charges during the above time	157,432	14	4
Total expenses for ten years from 1739 to 1748, both inclusive	209,896	3	4
Amount of the several sales of furs for the above ten years	273,542	18	8
Clear profit for ten years	63,646	15	4
Dividends in one year among 100 proprietors	6,364	13	6
For each proprietor for ten years	63	12	11

An account of the value of exports made by the Hudson's Bay Company for ten years last past :—

Anno.	£	s.	d.
1739	4,994	5	10
1740	5,630	10	11
1741	5,622	11	4
1742			
1743	4,007	16	10
1744	4,894	11	11
1745	6,736	0	9
1746	5,462	10	6
1747	5,431	7	11
1748	4,581	8	7
1749	5,102	12	3
Total	52,463	16	10

The amount of trading goods only :—

	£	s.	d.
1739	3,477	8	5
1740	4,052	14	5
1741	4,028	8	3
1742	3,618	15	11
1743	3,613	13	0
1744	4,152	16	11
1745	3,810	5	2
1746	3,390	8	5
1747	3,143	18	4
1748	3,453	2	7

Total amount of trading goods used in the fur trade for ten years at the seven forts, namely: Rupert, Moose, Albany, Henley, Severn, York and Churchill 36,741 11 5

An account of the imports or sales of furs made by the Hudson's Bay Company for ten years last past, distinguishing the amount for each year :—

	£	s.	d.
From Michaelmas, 1738 to Michaelmas, 1739	23,328	5	11
" " 1739 " 1740	30,279	16	6
" " 1740 " 1741	28,877	17	1
" " 1741 " 1742	22,957	1	8
" " 1742 " 1743	26,804	19	7
" " 1743 " 1744	29,785	19	3
" " 1744 " 1745	30,148	6	0
" " 1745 " 1746	26,350	15	9
" " 1746 " 1747	24,849	7	2
" " 1747 " 1748	30,160	5	11
Total	273,542	14	10

An account of the amount of charges attending the carrying on the trade of the trade of the Hudson's Bay Campany for ten years past, distinguishing each year :—

Anno.	£	s.	d.
1739	12,245	14	9
1740	13,346	9	3
1741	11,757	10	6
1742	12,084	3	0
1743	12,772	13	0
1744	20,201	13	11
1745	21,702	0	5
1746	19,360	11	4
1747	16,609	13	4
1748	17,352	4	10

Amount of charges, including £15,722 3s. 5d., provisions and stores sent to the forts ; men's wages must be added 157,432 14 4

Note.—Laboring men, as a rule, were paid six pound sterling per annum for the first three years, and those who distinguished themselves by their activity and honesty, generally, on entering on a second term of three years, got some advance, commonly in clothing ; and in 1794, on the petition of a clergyman or two in the Orkneys, men's wages were raised to £8 per annum.

Amount of furs of each kind sold during the ten years last past, with the average price at which each kind sold. Extracted from the Blue Book of 1749.

		s.	d.	£	s.	d.
572,597 Beaver,	average price per pound,	4	4-10	172,733	8	$6\frac{3}{4}$
3,400 Bears,	" " each,	19	1	3,194	3	4
11,448 Cats,	" " "	14	$5\frac{3}{4}$	8,288	7	6

			s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1,970 lbs.	Castorum, "	per pound,	9	2½	.....	907	0	5
33,482 "	Bed Feathers, average price per pound,		1	0½	.....	1,743	17	1
3,460	Deer Skins, "	each,	3	0	.....	519	0	0
960	Elk Skins, "	"	6	9½	.....	326	0	0
17	Ermine, "	"	1	5	.....	1	4	1
4,604	Foxes, "	"	9	1¼	.....	2,095	15	7
83,100	Goose Quills, @ per M,		15	6	.....	64	8	0½
146,065	Martin Skins, @ each,		6	4½	.....	46,558	4	4½
89	Minks "	"	2	8	.....	11	17	4
338	Musquash, "	"		8	.....	11	5	4
7,978	Otters, "	"	8	8½	.....	3,473	5	1
52	Racoons, "	"	2	3	.....	5	17	1
1,513	Squirrels, "	"		3	.....	43	18	3
5	Tons Whale Oil at £14 8s. per ton,				.....	72	28	3
4,887	Whale Fins, "		2	1	.....	509	1	3
10,591	Wolves, "		13	6	.....	7,143	18	6
8,431	Wolverines, "		7	8¼	.....	3,240	13	3¾
2,540	Woodchucks, "		9	9	.....	1,238	5	0
There are a few other articles of small value.								
						252,181	9	11½

These tables are based on accounts laid before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1749. Mr. Umfraville significantly adds: If then they could not afford to divide more than this, in the very zenith of their prosperity, how inconsiderably must their gains have been of late years, since the French Canadian traders have penetrated the interior country.

Their expenses have increased in a three-fold proportion and their furs sent to England have decreased at least one third since the above period.

By way of elucidating the above assertion I shall just state the difference of maintaining York Fort at present (1788) and the expense attending the same at the time the above enquiry took place (1749). York Fort at this time has four subordinate settlements, at which settlements, conjointly, the Company allow one hundred men, whose wages amount to about £1860 per annum; besides a sloop of sixty tons, that makes a voyage once a year between York and Severn Factories. To discharge these expenses they received on an average from them all about 25,000 skins. In the year 1748 the compliment of men at that settlement was no more than 25, whose wages amounted to £470 per annum, and their trade then stood at 30,000 skins one year with another. The oth-

er establishments, which the Company maintained in the Bay have suffered the like proportional change, all decreasing in trade and bearing additional incumbrances. Mr. Umfraville further states: It must be observed, that the calculation in the annexed tables, with many others, were compulsively produced before the House of Commons. It is not the inclination of the Company, that the minutest matter relating to their trade should be exposed to public view. They do not even allow their factors to know what the furs sell for in London for fear that inquisitiveness, to which mankind are so prone, should lead them to speculate, and draw inferences on matters which the Lords of the soil deem their own special province, and prorogative. But, the station I was in while I resided on the Bay, enabled me to know for a certainty, that the quantity of furs imported of late years, has fallen short of their former imports; though it is allowed that they sell better now than at former periods.

The Hudson's Bay Company confined their operations to the shores of the Bay, for a period of seventy-two years after the date of their charter. We have seen that by the treaty of Utrecht the French had to surrender all the settlememts which they had occupied on the Bay. But the year after that treaty, they established a post on the head waters of the Albany River, most likely at the Lake which had then been known as Lake St. Joseph, and, is known to the traders of the present time as Osnaburg Lake; here they intercepted many of the tribes, who had, in former years, to take their peltries to the factory on the Bay. The English smarting under the loss which this new movement of their national enemies had inflicted on their trade, after many complaints to their Government, and after some fruitless attempts to negotiate with the French authorities for the abandonment of the obnoxious post, the Hudson's Bay Company's servants ventured one hundred and fifty miles up the Albany River, and built Fort Hurley, with the intention of keeping the French at a respectable distance from the Bay, and of supplying the natives with necessaries, near their hunting grounds. We shall now make a few extracts from our author's account of the capture and destruction of Fort Prince of Wales and of York Factory:—The French visited Fort Prince of Wales first, on

account of its northern situation and the general prevalency of winds from that quarter, thinking of taking advantage of them in going southward. Accordingly the three ships appeared before the Fort, on 8th August, 1782. At this time, which was six o'clock in the evening, the enemy had cast anchor within six miles of the Fort, and in a little time afterwards appeared to be very industrious in sounding the river, and I have heard the Governor declare, that their officers went about the avenues of the Factory shooting birds, with the greatest indifference; a convincing proof that they did not conceive themselves to be in much danger. The Fort at this time mounted forty-two cannon, six, twelve and twenty-four pounders, and was provided with ammunition in great plenty, and the place was not in immediate want of any kind; the strength of the Fort itself was such as would have resisted the attack of a more considerable force than that which was brought against it. In short it was the opinion of every intelligent person that it might have made a very obstinate resistance when attacked, had it been as well provided in other respects; but, through the impolitic conduct of the Directors in London, every courageous exertion of their servants must have been considersd as imprudent temerity for this place which would have required four hundred men for its defence, the Company, in their consumate wisdom, had garrisoned with only thirty-nine. August 9th, about three o'clock in the morning, the enemy began to disembark their troops at a place called Hare Point; whence they marched in regular order towards the Factory until they arrived within four hundred yards, when they made a halt, and sent two officers from the main body with a summons to the Governor to surrender the place. The Governor and two of his officers met them half way, when all the difficulties that obstructed the negotiations were speedily overcome, to the satisfaction of both parties. In consequence of this agreement, the French, to the number of about four hundred, entered the Fort about six o'clock in the morning, when the British Flag was lowered and a table cloth from the Governor's table hoisted in its stead.

Every part now exhibited a scene of devastation and ruin, for the licentious soldiery, finding they were not restrained by a capit-

ulation, began to plunder whatever came in their way. It must, however, at the same time be acknowledged that the officers took every opportunity to depress this spirit in the common soldiers with great humanity and address, politely sympathizing with the sufferers in the inevitable distress attending the fortunes of war. The remainder of this and the following day, were spent in demolishing the works belonging to the fortifications, shipping on board various articles of stores and provisions, and a valuable quantity of peltries which, if the Company had received, would have indemnified them for all their other losses conjointly. On the 11th the three ships set sail for York Factory, but about five o'clock in the morning a sail was observed apparently steering for Churchill, which was now in flames. One of the frigates gave chase. The experience of her commander was inadequate to the task of coping with the skill of the English commander that if he had persevered he would probably have been led into such labyrinth of shoal water and rocky ground as might have made him repent his visit to Hudson's Bay; but the Frenchman prudently gave up the chase in the evening. Our author states that Churchill was, by far, the best settlement erected on the Bay, and while the trade of other settlements was on the decline for some years, this place had in general held its former medium, and of late years considerably increased. Notwithstanding the advantages, of so flourishing a settlement, to the Company, their extreme parsimony would not permit to have above one man to a gun, even in the midst of a precarious war. What folly could be more egregious, than to erect a Fort of such extent, strength and expense and only allow thirty-nine men to defend it. The force which the French sent into Hudson's Bay was more than sufficient to reduce every place in the country, weakly as they were. This place, in particular, with so few men, was totally incapable of withstanding the well directed efforts of so strong an armament, especially as the depth of the water in the River would admit of the largest ships being brought very near the Fort. Notwithstanding, the Governor must have been sensible of his inability to make an obstinate defence. In some respects his conduct was highly reprehensible, in the first place he

should have sent information to York Fort over land of an enemy's arrival in the Bay; had he done so, the people at that settlement would have had five days more, at least, to prepare themselves for so unexpected an event. Secondly, he should have destroyed the papers of the master of the sloop, who was then to the northward on a trading voyage. By the possession of these papers the enemy acquired a complete description of York Fort, with an account of its weakness on the land side, which induced them to try their fortune in that way. We shall here subjoin Mr. Umfraville's account of the taking of York Fort.

"The first notice we had of an enemy being on the coast, was on the 20th of August, 1782, in the evening, at which time the Company's ship was lying at anchor in the roads, and had been there five days, without having the least intimation of this event, although Mons. la Perouse, by his own account, had been sounding (the river) Port Nelson, on the 18th. The next day August 21st, the weather being extremely fine and calm, it afforded the enemy an opportunity to land their men in safety, which they attempted in fourteen boats, provided with mortars, cannon, scaling ladders, and about three hundred men, exclusive of marines.

"Our number of men consisted of sixty English and twelve Indians, who behaved extremely well to us, and evinced their regard for us by every execution in their power. The defences of York Fort consisted of thirteen cannon, twelve and nine pounders, which formed a half moon battery in the front of the factory, but it being thought probable that the enemy might come in the night, and turn these guns against us, they were over set to prevent the French from taking this advantage. On the ramparts were twelve Swivel Guns, mounted on carriages, which might have annoyed the enemy in the most effectual manner. Every kind of small arms were in plenty and good condition within the Fort. We had likewise ammunition in great store, and the people seemed to be under no apprehension. A fine rivulet of fresh water ran within the stockades; there were also about thirty head of cattle, and as many hogs, with a great quantity of salt provisions of every kind.

"August 22nd, two Indian scouts were sent out to gain intelligence, who returned in about three hours, and gave it as their opin-

ion, that the enemy must be nigh at hand, as they heard several guns fired in the vicinity of the Fort.

About sunset we could plainly discern a large fire behind us, kindled by the French, as we supposed, to refresh themselves before attack the next day. August 23rd it was observed at daylight that the company's ship had taken the advantage of a fine breeze at S. W. and prudently shaped her course for England, unperceived by the enemy. About ten o'clock in the morning the enemy appeared before our gates; during their approach a most inviting opportunity offered itself to be revenged on our invaders, by discharging the guns on our ramparts, which must have done great execution; but a kind of tipid stupefraction seemed to have taken possession of the Governor's mind, at this time of trial, and he peremptorily declared he would shoot the first man who offered to fire a gun.

Accordingly, as the place was not to be defended, resolving to be beforehand with the French, held out a white sheet (or flag) with his own hand, which was answered by the French Officer showing his pocket handkerchief, under the sanction of the flag of truce, a parley took place, when the Governor received a summons written in English. In this summons two hours were granted to consider the situation, but this indulgence was made no use of, and the place was most ingloriously given up in ten minutes, without one officer being consulted, or a council being assembled, so that this Fort, which might have withstood the united efforts of double the number of those by whom it was assailed in an attack with small arms, was surrendered to a half starved, wretched group of Frenchmen, worn out with fatigue and hard labor, in a country where they were entire strangers. From the nature of their attack from Port Nelson River, where they could not use their mortars or artillery, the ground being so very bad and interspersed with woods, thickets and bogs, by which they were so roughly handled in the course of their march that I verily believe they had not fifty pairs of shoes in their whole army. The difficulty of their march appears very conspicuous when it is considered they were a whole day in marching seven miles. When it is considered that the enemy's ships lay at twenty miles from the Factory in a boisterous sea, at a dangerous

season of the year, and consequently could not co-operate with their troops on shore, but with the greatest difficulty and uncertainty; and even this depended solely on propitious winds and weather; when it is further considered that their troops could receive no supplies, but what came from the ships and that cold, hunger and fatigue which had taken possession of their bodies, were hourly working in our favor; when it is further considered that the Factory was not in want of anything which would enable them to withstand an attack with musketry; and that the people shewed no signs of fear, dismay or dejection, but quite the reverse, I say when all these material circumstances are considered by the impartial reader, he will, undoubtedly, look with idignation on the pusilanimity of the English Governor, who, with all these advantages on his side, surrendered without firing a gun. The poor Indians were so affected at our captivity that they expressed their sorrows by sighs and tears. "What ever opinion the French might entertain of us on account of our timidity, it is but justice to say, that they behaved to their easily acquired prisoners, with that politeness which is peculiar to their nation. Mons. LaPerouse, the commander of the sceptre, was an honor to his nation and an ornament to human nature. His politeness, humanity and goodness, secured him the affection of all the Company's officers, and on parting at the mouth of Hudson's Straits, they felt the same sensation which the dearest friends feel in an interview preceding a long separation. His human disposition was more particularly conspicuous in leaving a repository of ammunition, etc., etc., for the poor Indians, who otherwise must have experienced great inconvenience and distress.

Though the enemy sustained no loss from us during the attack on York Factory, yet, through the severity of the climate and their own inexperience, they lost five large barges, a considerable quantity of merchandise and fifteen soldiers, who were drowned in Hay's River after the place was taken.

The Company suffered great loss by the capture of this place which had remained in their possession since the peace of Utrecht. The whole of the ships outward bound cargo were entirely burnt and destroyed, together with great quantities of provisions, stores,

etc., etc., which had been accumulating for about seventy years.

Having briefly narrated the transactions which took place on the shores of Hudson's Bay, from the formation of the first settlements on it to the period when the French made their last appearance in those seas, we shall now resume our narrative of their progress westward, beyond Lake Superior. We have stated above that the progress of the French in forming agricultural settlements was slow, yet the influence of their presence in the land soon began to be felt beyond the limits of their actual possessions. The fame of these wonderful strangers spread over lake and forest to remote tribes, many of whom hastened from far distant regions to the white man's settlements to gratify their curiosity by the sight of a people of whom they had heard so many strange accounts, and at the same time to participate in the rich presents bestowed, by the military commanders of New France, on the native tribes, of which firearms and ammunition always formed a part, which, in course of time, enabled the tribes, who resided near the French settlements, to drive their countrymen, who lived farther west, from their hunting grounds, leaving the streams and forests, where their forefathers fished and hunted, to be occupied by the new comers, who struggled on, extending their agricultural settlements, and in doing so, had, no doubt, to encounter a large amount of such toils, privations and dangers as has been experienced by all who at a later period and under more favourable circumstances have formed settlements in the forests of the new world. However, slow as their progress had been, its course was westward.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARL OF SELKIRK—HIS DEALINGS WITH THE FUR COMPANY—THE SELKIRK GRANT—PROSPECTUS OF THE SELKIRK COLONY—CURIOUS INCIDENTS OF IMMIGRATION—A WRITER ON THE NELSON RIVER IN 1811—CONTENTION IN THE COLONY—EARLY METHODS OF TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT—MILES MACDONALD AND HIS COLONY AT RED RIVER IN 1812—THRILLING INCIDENTS OF IMMIGRATION—FIRST SETTLERS AT PEMBINA—PRIVATIONS OF THE FIRST RED RIVER SETTLERS—THE RIVAL FUR COMPANIES—THE INDIANS.

In the beginning of the present century, the Earl of Selkirk had been extensively engaged in land and colonization speculations in British America, and in the prosecution of these objects he visited Montreal, at that time the emporium of the fur trade in Canada. His Lordship was received with the hospitality which so much characterizes the inhabitants of that affluent city, and to none was he indebted for more pointed attention and civility, than to the merchant princes connected with the fur trade, the agents and partners of the North-west Company. These gentlemen were of respectable parentage, many of them being the sons of clergymen, of small landed proprietors, and of tacksmen in the Highlands of Scotland. A Scotch nobleman, and above all a Douglas, could not fail in meeting with the most cordial reception from these warm hearted Gael. Their attentions were unwearied, they freely spent their money in entertaining their noble and distinguished visitor. In the course of his travels, his attention was naturally directed to the state of the trade, and particularly to that carried on with the Indians in the barter of manufactured goods, and other articles, for furs and peltries, which, ever since the discovery and establishment of the Colony by the French, had been considered the chief branch of its commerce. According to a writer of the period, Mr. William McGillivray, his enquiries into the nature and extent of the trade and their particular establishment, which always had been an object of curiosity to strangers visiting in Canada, were readily an-

swered by these gentlemen, who withheld no information which could gratify the liberal and useful researches of a noble traveller.

They remarked at the time that these enquiries were more extensive than usual, but they little expected that their confidential communications to a person expressing his admiration at the result of their exertions, and his sincere friendship and thankful acknowledgments to themselves, should have awakened the spirit of self-interest, which has subsequently been so apparent; still less did they expect they were placing means in the hands of a commercial rival, to be applied first in opposition to their trade, and, after the failure of that experiment, in an attempt to affect the ruin of their establishments.

On the noble Lord's return to England, he prosecuted with much anxiety, the enquiries he had commenced in Canada, connected with this subject, and the situation of the Hudson's Bay Company, with the great advantage under which the fur trade might be conducted from Hudson's Bay, when compared with the obstacles and difficulties opposed to the Canadian merchants, soon presented themselves to his discernment. The route to the remote and most valuable trading stations in the North-west country, was nearly two thousand miles more distant by interior communication from Montreal than from Hudson's Bay, and it was evident, if the assumed rights of this company to the exclusive commerce and navigation of the Bay were legal, by a strict enforcement of them the whole trade in furs and peltries might be diverted into that channel. His Lordship communicated his idea on the subject, though very partially, to a gentleman then in England, who had long been interested in the North-west Company, and to whom the public are indebted for a description of the country, and of his own voyages and discoveries. In consequence of this communication, an agreement was subsequently entered into between Lord Selkirk and this gentleman to speculate in the stock of the Hudson's Bay Company, without any definite object on the part of his Lordship's associate, beyond possibly a re-sale at an enhanced price when a sufficient amount should have been procured to enable them to exercise a beneficial influence in the management of the Company's concerns, and thereby to increase the

value of their stock. The moment was peculiarly favourable for their purpose; the stock of the Company had fallen from 250 per cent. to between 50 and 60 in consequence of misfortunes or mismanagement of their affairs, which were in a rapid state of decay and considered bordering of insolvency, no dividends having been paid for several years. Under such circumstances, considerable purchases were easily made by the parties; but his Lordship's views becoming enlarged with the extended knowledge he obtained of the supposed rights conferred upon the Company by charter, a disagreement took place as to the further objects they had in view, and after some legal proceedings, an arrangement was made between the parties, by which the Earl of Selkirk became proprietor of the quarter part of the stock acquired on the joint account. Being thus disengaged from any connection which would interfere with his views, and having established for himself a sufficient footing in the affairs of the Company, Lord Selkirk extended his purchases to the amount of nearly £40,000.00, the whole amount of the Company's stock being under £100,000.00. Several members of the committee immediately made way for the appointment of his near relatives and friends to the direction, and from this period, his Lordship may be considered as possessing unlimited influence and control in the management of the affairs and disposal of the property of the Company. Although more activity was perceived in the general conduct of their concerns, some time elapsed before his Lordship's ultimate object and plans were disclosed; but his preparations being then made, a general court was convened by public notice in the month of May, 1811. The proprietors were informed at this meeting that the Governor and committee considered it beneficial to their general interests, to grant to his Lordship, in fee simple, about 116,000 square miles of what was supposed to be their territory, on condition that he should establish a Colony on the grant, and furnish, on certain terms, from among the settlers such laborers as are required by the Company in their trade. The proprietors did not see, in these conditions, any sufficient consideration for the grant, and every one present, with the exception of the noble Lord, and the committee, signed and delivered a protest against it to the court. Notwithstanding

this opposition the grant was confirmed, and his Lordship became the ideal proprietor of a domain, exceeding in extent the Kingdom of England, with only one objection to the title, that with respect to the right of the grantors. Remonstrances were made against the project of establishing the proposed Colony by every person interested in the trade of the country. Notwithstanding, his Lordship determined to persevere in his schemes, and succeeded in obtaining the grant, which we shall transcribe for our reader's information. "The Earl of Selkirk's grant of land from the Hudson's Bay Company," described as follows :—

Beginning at the western shores of Lake Winnipeg, at a point on 52°, 50′ north latitude, and thence running due west to Lake Winnipegoosis, otherwise called Little Winnipeg ; thence in a southerly direction through said Lake, so as to strike its western shore in latitude 52° ; thence due west to the place where the parallel 52° intersects the western branch of the Red River, otherwise called the Assiniboine River ; thence due south from that point of intersection to the heights of land which separates the waters running into the Hudson's Bay from those of the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers ; thence in an easterly direction along the height of land to the sources of the River Winnipeg, meaning by such last named River the principal branch of the waters which unite in the Lake Saginagas ; thence along the main stream of those waters, and the middle of the several Lakes through which they flow, to the mouth of the River Winnipeg, and thence in a northerly direction through the middle of Lake Winnipeg to the place of beginning, which Territory is called Assiniboia.

The following is the protest of the proprietors of the Hudson's Bay Company against the grant to Lord Selkirk :—

To the Honourable the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading in Hudson's Bay :—

The memorial of the undersigned Stockholders and proprietors in said Company, sheweth : that whereas it appears from the records of the proceedings of said Company, at their last meeting, that it is in contemplation to grant to the right Honourable, the Earl of Selkirk, a certain part of the territory of the said Company to him and his heirs for ever in fee simple.

Your memorialists have taken the same into their most serious consideration and availing themselves of the limited period allowed by the adjournment of the said meeting, submit to your hon. body, the grounds and reasons upon which they dissent to any such grant, or alienation of the Company's Property.

1st. Because, wavering all the arguments which occur to them, proving the impolicy of the said grant, there does not appear to be any adequate consideration stipulated for between the said Company and the said Earl.—The land proposed to be granted, comprehends a territory of about seventy thousand superficial miles, containing about forty-five millions of acres, of that part of the territory which is valuable and fit for cultivation, and constitutes no inconsiderable portion of the Company's Capital Stock.

2nd.—Because, if it be for the benefit of the said Company, (and there is no evidence of sufficient weight to make it clear to the understanding of your Memorialists) to sell so large and valuable a portion of their territory, the proper mode of doing so for the interest of the stockholders, is obviously that which is usually adopted in the faithful execution of all trusts of a similar nature ; namely, to expose it to public sale, or at least give such notoriety to the the transaction as to admit of competition between individuals who may be inclined to purchase. The necessity of such a mode in the present case is placed beyond all dispute by the fact that a more valuable consideration, than that proposed by the said Earl, may now be obtained for the property in question.

3rd—Because it does not appear that the said Earl is bound by the conditions of his grant, in a sufficient penalty, to establish such a settlement as will produce to the Company any substantial benefits, or to exercise such acts of ownership as may be necessary to the ostensible objects of the Company in making the grant. In all grants recently made by the Crown in British America, provision is made for *bona fide* settlements, and a mere nominal provision to give a colourable pretext for the alienation of public property, but such as to secure the actual residence of one person in proportion to twelve hundred acres. And it has been proved by experience, and is clear to the understanding of your Memorialists, that the foregoing regulations, adopted by his Majesty, is highly expedient and wise, and was suggested by the evils which had formally arisen from the possession of a tract of land by one person, who could seldom, even in the vicinity of a populous country, procure a sufficient number of settlers to satisfy the creditors of the original grant. If, with all the facilities afforded by a regular and extensive intercourse with Great Britain, it was impracticable to induce a very considerable number of persons to immigrate, how much more insurmountable must be the difficulty of peopling a region two thousand miles from any sea port, and out of the reach of all those aids and comforts which are derived from civil society.

4th. Because, upon a fair and impartial estimation of the future value and importance of the lands purposed to be granted, and the limited and unproductive consideration to be given, for them, by the said Earl, your Memorialists cannot perceive for the grant any other motive than to secure to the prosterity of the said Earl, at the expense of the stock holders of the said Company, an immensely valuable landed estate.

5th. Because in the event of a settlement of the said territory under the control of any power than that of the Company, private traffic would be carried on between the settlers and Indians, and clandestinely with traders from the United States and Canada, which no ordinance of the Company would prevent. Besides, it has been found that colonization is at all times unfavorable to the fur trade ; and it is not very apparent to your Memorialists, that said Company has full power to exercise a final jurisdiction, since various acts have been passed in contravention of the powers, perhaps intended to be imparted in the charter, more especially the act of '43 of His Majesty, George III, which gives the entire jurisdiction in criminal cases throughout the whole Indian territory to His Majesty's Courts of King's Bench, in Upper and Lower Canada.

6th. Because, under the foregoing circumstances, such a settlement as the proposed would, in process of time, erect itself into a distinct interest, adverse to that

of the Company, become an asylum for deserters from their service, and eventually under their authority in practice a mere nullity.

7th. Because, from the situation of the lands proposed to be granted, and their contiguity to the United States, the intercourse will be greater, and the communication more easy between the frontier ports of the United States and settlement contemplated, than between the said settlement and Port Nelson; hence the laws and regulations of the company will be evaded, and every expectation of revenue defeated in its very principle.

8th. Because, your memorialists do not perceive that in making such a grant according to the terms expressed in the agreement to be entered into, sufficient regard is had to the difficulties in the way of carrying it into effect, or to the sacrifices which the Company may be called upon to make.

These reasons, and many others, which require more full illustration than the shortness of time between the last and present meeting would permit, appear to your memorialists sufficiently cogent to prevent the Company from making the grant under consideration, upon such terms as are proposed by the Earl of Selkirk.

London, May 30th, 1811.

[Signed] William Thwaits,
Robert Whitehead,
John Inglis,
John Fish,
Edward Elice,
Alex. McKenzie.

Lord Selkirk's Advertisement and Prospectus of the New Colony.

A tract of land consisting of some millions of acres, and in point of soil and climate inferior to none of equal extent in British America, is now to be disposed of, and will be sold extremely cheap, on account of its situation, which is remote from the present establishments. If a tract of the same extent and fertility were offered for sale in Lower or Upper Canada or Nova Scotia, purchasers would be eager to obtain it at one hundred or perhaps two hundred thousand guineas, and at that price would make an ample fortune in the course of some years, by retailing it in small lots at an advance price to actual settlers.

The land in question, no way different in advantage, may be purchased for about £10,000.

The title has been submitted to lawyers of the first eminence in London, and is declared to be unexceptionable; but the situation is such, that the population of the older settlements cannot be expected, in the natural course of things, to be spread into it for a long period of time, and till that takes place, this disadvantage of its remote situation must be an insuperable objection in the eyes of any unconnected individual who is looking out for lands to establish his family. Hence the prospect of finding settlers to purchase the land in small lots is remote, and on this account the proprietors are willing to part with it for so inconsiderable a price.

But the obstacles which, to an unconnected adventurer, may justly be deemed insurmountable, may be overcome with ease by the combined efforts of many, and an adequate sum of money judiciously expended in removing the first difficulties of an

infant settlement, may place this tract of land in circumstances as advantageous to the proprietors as if it were in the immediate vicinity of populous colonies. The expenses, however, would be too great for an individual: it is therefore proposed to form a joint stock company, in 200 shares of £100 each, so as to raise a sum of £20,000, of which a moiety is to be employed in the purchase of the lands in question; the remainder, in those expenses which are necessary for bringing settlers and thereby rendering the land valuable. To those settlers, lands will be disposed of, either in the way of sale, or lease in perpetuity at the option of the settler, on terms very encouraging to him, and abundantly advantageous to the proprietors. As there are serious objections against receiving into the proposed settlement any Americans of the description of those who are likely to offer themselves, the settlers must be emigrants from Europe, and the most feasible plan seems to be, that they should be selected from those parts of the United Kingdom which are most overburdened with inhabitants, viz.: the Highlands of Scotland and some parts of Ireland; a small portion of the emigrants who now go from these districts to the United States of America would be more than sufficient for the object in view.

Such a change of their destination could injure no part of the Kingdom, and would save the Empire subjects, who would otherwise be entirely lost to their country.

To facilitate an object thus equally advantageous to the public and to the parties concerned, it is proposed that a preference should be allowed to subscribers who are personally connected with these districts of the Kingdom, and whose local influence may be of service in promoting the desired change in the destinatson of those who are determined to emigrate. The settlement is to be formed in a territory where religion is not the ground of any disqualification, an unreserved participation in every privilege will therefore be enjoyed by Protestants and Catholics without; and it is proposed that in every parochial division an allotment of land shall be made for the perpetual support of a clergyman, of that persuasion which the majority of the inhabitants adhere to.

As the lands in question possess important natural advantages over any which now remain unoccupied in Nova Scotia and the adjacent colonies, it cannot be deemed unreasonable, if the settlers in general get their lands at the lowest rate which they would pay in those provinces. On the other hand, they will naturally expect to be conveyed to their land without incurring more expense than if they were to settle in these Maritime Colonies. The managers of the concern must, therefore, undertake to provide conveyance at moderate rates for the emigrants who go out under their patronage.

The rate of passage money paid on board of other ships bound to America may be taken as the criterion. These rates being always proportioned to the prices of freight and shipping at the time, no material loss can be apprehended upon the sea voyage; but as the place of settlement is at a considerable distance from the sea, an extra expense must be incurred in inland conveyance, which the emigrants cannot be expected to pay, if they are to be charged for land at the rate of the Maritime Colonies; the expense which may thus be on the proprietors, may be estimated at about £10 for each family of settlers at an average.

This will, however, be amply reimbursed in the price of land; the lowest price of land in the Maritime Colonies, when sold to actual settlers, and possessing any

tolerable advantages of situation, is at the rate of 10s per acre, if sold, or if leased for a perpetuity, 1s per annum ; every family of settlers may be expected to take up at least 100 acres. They are allowed some accommodation of time for the payment and 100 acres at the above rate, will amount to £50, a net advantage of £40 after reimbursing the charge of bringing in the settlers. If he should prefer leasing his rent will in two years repay the charge, and will remain afterwards as a clear income to the proprietor. As the inland situation of the settlement will preclude the settler from some of the sources of profit which are enjoyed in Maritime situations, it becomes necessary to provide substitutes.

The cultivation of hemp is peculiarly calculated for inland situations, as that article is so valuable in proportion to its weight, that it can bear the expense of a considerable inland navigation. This cultivation is also a favourite national object, and the settlement will derive benefits from the public encouragement which is held out for promoting it. A still more beneficial object of attention is the growth of fine wool, an article so valuable, that it would bear any expense of inland conveyance and one for which the country is peculiarly adapted.

In the vicinity of the proposed settlement there are immense open plains without wood, fine dry grass land, much of it capable of immediate cultivation and all well fitted for pasturage, particularly sheep. This is an advantage that no other part of British America possesses by nature, and which the colonists of the Maritime Provinces cannot obtain without the laborous and expensive operation of clearing.

If to this advantage the proprietors add that of a good band of merino sheep, the settlers can never meet with any difficulty in paying the price or rent for their land.

The fleeces of ten or twelve sheep will pay the rent of 100 acres, and with the produce of a very small flock, the price of a lot of land may be paid off in three or four years. With such advantages the settlers must thrive rapidly, and it will soon become apparent to them that the land is worth a much larger price.

At first, however, it cannot be supposed that the common emigrant will understand or become capable of appreciating these advantages ; on the contrary, it is to be expected that they will be diffident and afraid of venturing to a new and (to them) unknown country ; it will, therefore, be necessary to give some extraordinary encouragement to a few of the first who enter into the plan.

From this and other causes the commencement of the undertaking must be subject to expenses, which will not continue permanently when the settlement is well established, but, it is only by means of the first outlay, that we can expect to attain the ultimate advantages which are to accrue to the proprietors. There is no room to believe that these expenses will exceed the sum which is proposed to be raised, but it must be some time before the settlers can be numerous enough to pay much either of rent or of purchase money ; ten or twelve years must, therefore, elapse before the profits of the undertaking can be sufficient to afford a dividend to the proprietors.

After that period the returns may be expected to increase rapidly, and will soon form an ample indemnification to the subscribers for the loss of interest on the money in the meantime. The amount to which the profits may ultimately arise seems almost to baffle imagination upon any principle of calculation which can reasonably be adopted ; the result comes out so extraordinarily great, that it might appear like exaggeration to state it. But the difference between buying land at one penny or

two pence per acre, and selling at eight or ten shillings is very palpable, and does not seem to require comment.

The speculation may not suit those who require an immediate income, but for any one who is desirous to provide beforehand for a young family, such an opportunity seldom occurs.

The above prospectus was addressed to and well calculated to quicken the spirits of emigration which so universally prevailed in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland.

Agents were sent to those countries to engage a number of servants, some for the Hudson Bay Company's service and others to labor in the colony: these were known as His Lordship's servants, and were, as well as the others, engaged for a term of years, and, at the expiration of their contracts each of them became entitled to one hundred acres of land, free of cost, in the new colony. The servants who had been engaged by his Lordship's agents in Ireland, in Glasgow and in other parts of Scotland met at Stornoway, in the Island of Lewis, in the month of May, 1811.

The colony servants, from twenty to thirty in number, were placed under Captain Miles McDonell's command, who had been nominated by his Lordship and the Hudson's Bay Company, Governor of the new colony.

The Hudson's Bay ships did not arrive until some time in June. The servants who, as we have said above arrived in May, had time for reflection; unfavorable reports of the country to which they were to be transported were circulated; it was known then in the Highlands and North of Scotland by the significant and appropriate name of "The land of the cold," the abode of perpetual winter. They became terrified at the thought of being doomed to suffer the intense severity of the artic winter of Hudson's Bay and the extraordinary labor and drudgery to which they would be subjected in the Hon. Company's service. The effect of these fears soon became manifest.

A few days after the ships came to anchor before the ancient village of Stornoway, the Captain's called for all those, whom they were ordered to convey to Hudson's Bay; on the day appointed for their embarkation some went on board, others sent their chests or trunks on board emptied of their usual contents, a few stones,

some sand and straw having been put in to make some weight, and to prevent suspicion in the minds of those who were receiving them; the owners of these empty chests set off to the hills and mountains and could not be found.

Inauspicious as this was, it was only the beginning of trouble; some of those who had embarked refused to go further, threatened the captain's life, and at the same time declared that if they would not order them to be conveyed to the shore that they would seize the boats and go to the land. A few, in the height of their fury sprang over-board, swam unmolested to the shore, and fled to the hills, and were never retaken.

The troubles on board the ships were soon made known in the town. A Captain McKenzie went to the ships, and invited all who were dissatisfied with their position to come on board his boat, promising to set them free; however, Jack Tar had something to say on the subject, and showed that he was not willing to be so easily deprived of his freight, and adopted an expedient, which relieved him for the present from all trouble from the gallant Captain.

Some one of the ship's crew pitched a nine-pound round shot into the boat, which passed through her bottom, leaving those who were in her to choose between sinking or a speedy retreat for the shore. They prudently embraced the latter alternative. The irritated veteran, McKenzie, on reaching shore, sent a formal challenge to the Captain of the ship, whose crew had treated him so unceremoniously; but a fair wind sprang up in the night; the ship left the harbor, our friend the Captain had to bear the insult, and with it his disappointment in not being able to redress his great grievance by the prowess of his own right hand. We have never been able to obtain correct information as to the authority on which Captain McKenzie acted in the difficulties which took place on board the Hudson's Bay ships; some persons expressed the opinion that the Captain was connected with the Custom House, and that he endeavored to seize the ships, in consequence of their taking a greater number of persons on board than was permitted by the provisions of an act of Parliament commonly

called "Dundas'" Act, regulating the number of passengers emigrating to America according to the tonnage of the ship in which they are to be embarked.

We cannot say how far this statement of the above affair is correct. The company's ships were each registered at something near four hundred tons. Many of those engaged for the country deserted at Stornoway. The ships for James' Bay would doubtless easily accommodate those who were intended for the Southern Department. The difficulty then could only arise from the number received on board the ship which was to sail for York Factory. The number landed there in the fall, I have reason to believe, did not exceed fifty or sixty at the utmost, and surely this number could not be an infringement of the act; if this be so, Captain McKenzie must have acted in this affair from the benevolent and patriotic impulses of his own mind; believing, we may suppose, that the involuntary expatriation of these poor men, whom he wished to liberate, was an act of great injustice and of unmitigated tyranny. As we have said above, the ship sailed in June with her discontented and refractory cargo. How they fared and behaved on the voyage, we have never been able to learn; but this we know, that in the fall of 1811 they arrived at York Factory, in Latitude 57 ° North.

We cannot state the day, nor even the month, on which they landed on the shores of Hudson's Bay; but from their passing the winter near the Bay, we may infer that they arrrived late in the season, or that there had been culpable negligence somewhere, either in his Lordship, or in those who acted under him, in not making known to those in the country, by the ship of the previous summer (1810), that more than the ordinary number of men were to be sent to the Red River, and might require a few additional boats to carry them thither.

His Lordship might have communicated all the necessary information and instructions to those who ruled in the country, and they, from indolence, or from a desire to gratify the party of stockholders who were inimical to his Lordship's colonizing projects, might leave those who had to begin the colony to provide the

means of transportation for themselves. It is too late to learn the cause: the effect we know.

The men for the colony were sent away late in Autumn, from the Factory, and were directed to go forty or fifty miles up the Nelson River to a place known as Seal's Creek; their Governor, Captain Miles McDonell, and Captain Hillier (known as a justice of the peace), accompanied them. Here they were instructed and assisted, by a few old hands, to erect log huts for their protection from the chilling and bitter blasts of winter.

We may easily fancy how difficult this labour would prove to men unaccustomed to the use of the axe; notwithstanding, they proved that patience and perseverance can remove the greatest difficulties; they built their shanties; poor and mean they were, but preferable to open huts, and even to tents covered with nothing but pine bush.

No sooner were they lodged in their winter quarters than the demon of discord and insubordination reappeared among them. It is hard to say, after the lapse of more than fifty years, what the prolific source of these difficulties was. It has been stated by some of the men who were there at the time, men whose veracity I never heard called in question, that the food allowed was insufficient in quantity and of poor quality, and, further, their Governor endeavoured to subject them to military discipline. Whatever might have been the cause or causes, the long dreary and severe winter of that inhospitable region was passed in mutual hatred and distrust between the officers and their men.

The spring, though late, came at last with all its ameliorating influences, long, bright, warm, sunny days, with abundance of water fowl, the greatest and best gift of spring to the inhabitants of these sterile regions. All who wintered at Seal's Creek were ordered to headquarters, and to headquarters they came to occupy houses which were palaces in comparison to their mean and miserable winter habitations. Now they were fed two or three days in the week on fresh provisions. They were no longer suffering under the storms and bitter frosts of winter, and we might expect a corresponding change in the men's feelings.

But, unfortunately, this was not the case, the spirit of insubor-

dination was still rankling in men's hearts and leading them to frequent acts of disobedience, which conduct on their parts would naturally produce a spirit of unkindly feeling and harshness in the bosom of those who were in authority. At the time of which we are writing, William Auld, Esq., was superintendent of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, and was residing at York Factory in the spring 1812. He has been represented, by some of those who served under him, as stern and dispotic in the exercise of his authority.

In his office of Governor and judge he was assisted by a council, (but we must not forget that the Governor on all matters of importance received private instructions from the committee and acted upon them independent of the council.) This Council was composed of three or four of the senior clerks residing at headquarters and passed resolutions for the proper management of the trade with the Indians, and appointed officers and men for the different inland districts within the department.

In its judicial capacity the council took cognizance of acts of disobedience on the part of the labouring men and clerks to the mandate of their superiors. For offences of a grave character fining the unfortunate culprit to the full amount of all the savings of former years if in deposit in the Company's hands, and if the individual had his money in any other bank it would be safe, but he stood a fair chance of being dismissed the service. However, such cases as I have represented were of rare occurrence; fines generally ranged in amount from five to ten pounds sterling. In minor cases the obnoxious subject would be punished by being, for some time, put in irons or by being put off duty and half allowance. Some of the Glasgow men and Irishmen were summoned to appear before the Governor's tribunal, who in the present case called to his assistance Mr. Miles McDonnell and Mr. Hillier, to act as Magistrates in awarding condeign punishment to these refractory subjects. The accused parties appeared, and one of them undertook the defence, this man had been a clerk to a sheriff in Scotland, and professed to know something about law; he pointed out to his would-be judges the illegality of a court constituted as their court

was, where prosecutors were sitting as judges, and after some altercation our pleader appealed to some higher court.

The whole party walked out of the room, leaving the Governor and his judicial aids to chew the cud of disappointment. The spring of 1812 was passed in the above unpleasant manner. The ice on the river generally breaks up in the last week of May or first week in June. The navigation is not often practicable before the tenth of that month. Miles McDonell and some of his men left for the Red River as early as circumstances would admit, and we may suppose that they arrived in the month of July or in the beginning of August.

Some of those who wintered at Seal's Creek were sent to different parts of the country, and the ringleaders in the quarrels of the preceding winter, were kept at the factory for the purpose of being sent home by the ship.

We cannot dismiss the transactions of the winter and spring without giving an instance of singular and laudable devotion to duty in the young men from the Island of Lewis; they were not in any way exempted from the trials and privations undergone by their companions, yet, throughout all these trying times they exhibited an unconquerable spirit of patient endurance, and were ever ready to obey their superiors and perform their duty. And to Governor Auld's praise be it said, that he did not overlook such exemplary conduct nor let it pass unrewarded. On the first opportunity that offered he represented these men's good behaviour to the committee, and that honourable body presented, through their agents in Stornoway, each of their parents with the sum of five pounds sterling as a substantial token of their approbation of these young men's merits.

We have stated above that Mr. Miles McDonell and his men arrived on the prairies of Red River, at the latest, in the month of August, 1812. How these pioneers of civilization in the wilderness fared or how they were employed we have not been able to learn, but we may rest satisfied that a great part of their time would be occupied in procuring food from the surrounding Indians and freemen, and that the rest of their time would be employed in erecting dwellings and stores at the place chosen for the headquarters of the

new settlement, which was at a point a mile below the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red River. This point had the name of Douglas bestowed upon it, and continued during a period of fourteen years to enjoy the honour of being the site of the Governor's residence, the Colony stores and of the Hudson's Bay Fort.

Now that we have followed the footsteps, and recorded as much as came to our knowledge of the history of the small band of immigrants from the green valleys of Erin, and from that busy hive of manufacturing and commercial industry, Glasgow, to the centre of the American continent, to the very place which his Lordship had appointed for the future colony, and where they were directed to make preparations for the reception of the multitudes who were expected to flow in each succeeding year, we will leave them for a time and endeavour to follow his Lordship in his peregrinations for recruits for the Hudson's Bay Company's service and for emigrants to the intended colony. For the accomplishment of these objects he went over to Ireland, and during his residence there he visited Sligo and other towns in the west, where he employed agents to engage servants for the fur trade and for the colony.

A great number of laborers and some clerks were soon procured. His Lordship, when in the Emerald Isle, met with Mr. Owen Keveny whom he engaged for the Hudson's Bay Company's service, and likely in the first place, for the purpose of taking charge of all the men who had been engaged in Ireland with the view, no doubt, of preventing desertion and mutinies similar to those which took place the previous season at Stornoway, and afterwards to be employed in the service as circumstances might require. Mr. Keveny has been represented as uncommonly severe and cruel in his treatment of those under his authority. It has been currently reported, and not contradicted, that for the most trivial offence he would order the offending party to be put in irons; in other cases the unfortunate culprit was made to run between two lines of men drawn up fronting each other, and each man prepared with a cudgel to commence the strange, and to one party concerned, unpleasant operation of belabouring the object of their chief's resentment as soon as he entered between their ranks. The Hudson's Bay Company's ships sailed for Ireland, and put into the Bay of Sligo to

take on board all those who had been engaged. Here they were joined by ten or eleven newly married couples, some young men, and two or three unmarried young ladies, all from the Western Islands of Scotland.

The ships left Ireland some time in June, and if we judge from what transpired on the passage, we must come to the conclusion, that all who were on board were not satisfied with their condition. No desertions took place this season, and all seemed to go on well for a time, but a fierce spirit of discontent began to spread from one bosom to another, until all the sailors and the passengers between decks became infected by it, and soon appeared in an attempt to overpower the Captain and his adherents, seize the ship and take her to some country at War with Great Britain and sell ship and cargo to the best advantage and divide the proceeds among the captors. However secret their machinations, there was a traitor among them who betrayed all their proceedings to the Captain, and by the time they were all prepared for the meeting, the Captain and those who were loyal to him and willing at all hazards to do their duty at this dangerous moment, were ready to meet them. The Captain placed armed parties to guard the hatches, the quarter guns were loaded with grape shot and pointed forward; when the conspirators attempted to get on deck they were hurled back into the hole by those who had been appointed to perform that duty.

One man, more daring or less fortunate than his associates in evil, received a dangerous sword wound on his shoulder, which nearly severed his arm from his body. This blow was given by Mr. Johnston, who was assassinated in a most deliberate but cowardly manner by a French half-breed in a foolish quarrel that took place at Isle a la Cross Lake, in the winter of 1814 between the two opposing companies.

The mutineers subdued, all parties seemed to be satisfied or were quiet, which answered equally well, and early in the month of August they were landed at York Factory on the shores of Hudson's Bay. While here Mr. Keveny had to exercise some despotic, but, no doubt, a wholesome discipline by making a few unruly fellows run the gauntlet, somewhat terrifying and amusing to the

beholders, who for the first time saw this very ancient but long neglected mode of punishment put into operation.

A number of the ringleaders and of the most desperate of the mutineers were sent back with the ship. We must here notice that Father Bourke accompanied the Irishmen as their spiritual guide, but returned by the same conveyance that brought him into the country; this gentleman was the first minister of religion from the British Isles, that set foot on Rupert's Land, or at least that set his foot on the shores of Hudson's Bay. We must further notice in this place, that the first matrimonial union entered into by persons of pure European blood, in Rupert's Land, took place this season, at York Factory, both parties were Protestants and had arrived with the ship; the marriage ceremony was performed by Father Bourke, the catholic priest.

After a short stay at the Factory those who were destined to serve at the different posts in the interior were dispersed in every direction. Mr. Keveny, the colonists and all the laboring men for the colony, with some boats for upper Red River, in all eight or nine barges took their departure for their destination, and after a favorable passage they arrived in health and good spirits some time in the latter end of October, on the banks of the much talked of, and long wished for, Red River. Mr. Keveny consigned his charge to Mr. Miles McDonell who had been already some months on the site of the intended colony, and who might now with some propriety assume the high sounding title of Governor of Assiniboia, for here were ten or eleven families to begin with.—This small increase of numbers added to Governor McDonell's difficulties. Provisions were not easily obtained at Fort Douglas, and in consequence they could not remain together at head-quarters. The colonists, after remaining a short time at the Governor's residence, had to raise their camp before the winter set in, and remove to Pembina, to be within easy reach of the buffalo, the only source whence they expected to draw their supply of provisions for the fast approaching winter. To Pembina they went and in conjunction with his Lordship's servants built a few huts which they surrounded with a low stockade and dignified the place with the honorable name of Daer.

In the beginning of winter scarcity of food began to be severely

felt and stern necessity compelled the newcomers to separate. Some went up to the post on the Turtle River, others had to take to the plains and join the Freemen who were hunting the buffalo on these treeless wastes and who were encamped along the different streams that flow into the Red River from the west.

The traders at that time were accustomed to hire hunters who supplied them with provisions. These hunters were either Indians or Freemen and at some Forts Freemen and Indians; when thus employed by the traders, each hunter had commonly a Company's servant placed with him, whose duty was to receive the carcases from the hunter, to draw in the meat to a stage erected near the hunter's lodge, and to keep account of the number of animals or carcases he received. Horses and dogs were employed to drag in the meat to the Fort; but as these useful animals were too few for the work the deficiency had to supplied by the colonists and servants harnessing themselves by tens or by dozens to huge flat sleds, loaded with green buffalo beef at which they toiled day after day till they arrived at the Fort.

Each buffalo, moose or red deer, was valued at so many shillings, Halifax currency, although most commonly paid in merchandize. We may form some idea of the great and nearly insurmountable difficulties which these poor men had to encounter—travelling for days without snowshoes through deep snow, unaccustomed to the rigors of the climate, always exposed to intense cold, and not unfrequently overtaken on the plains by high winds and snow which in a few minutes fill the air with drift, leaving the traveller no alternative but that of burying himself in a snow bank or freezing to death. When these parties took their loads and turned for the Fort, on some trips, they tugged for days at their unwieldy burdens; it is true that every meal lessened their freight, so much so, that when the distance was great all they brought to the Fort was very little more than would be required to find themselves until they should return to the hunting tents again, so that those who resided at the fort fared but indifferently.

In their distress during that winter the North West Company's servants generously supplied them often with provisions and without such help some of the colonists, and even some of the Com-

pany's servants, would have perished of hunger, not only on the plains of Red River, but also along the shores of Lake Winnipeg, one instance of which we shall here relate, as showing in some degree the privations and miseries which the fur traders had to endure at the time of which we are writing and, as showing also, the friendly spirit by which some, at least, of the North West partners were animated towards the Hudson's Bay Company servants when they were in distress.

The Hudson's Bay Company had a small trading post near the mouth of Pigeon River. The fall fishing proved a failure, and after the winter set in no supplies could be drawn from the waters. Neither deer nor rabbits could be found in the forests. The few people who were at the place were compelled, by famine to break up into small parties of two or three in each ; these took different directions and pitched their camps along the lake at some distance from each other. All failed to procure anything adequate to the supply of their most urgent wants, and after some time the little they had been able to procure became less, so much so, that some were reduced to absolute want. Thus enfeebled from the want of sufficiency of food, some of them were so much overcome by the dark prospect before them that they began to despair, and if they had been left to their own resources would have perished, but fortunately for them a young gentleman was with one party whose strong and energetic mind was more than equal to the difficulties of the position in which he and his companions in misery were placed. To remain where they were would be certain death.

And where were they to go ? they were Hudson's Bay men, and the nearest Fort belonging to that company was Fort Douglas, and for Fort Douglas our young friend, with two other men, set out, travelling on the east side of Lake Winnipeg for Bas de la River, where the North-West Company had a post, (or rather, a depot). This place was much nearer to them than Red River ; but these emaciated and enfeebled men—scarcely able to walk—travelled on day after day, exposed to the bitter chilling winds that blew over the lake, nor did the night bring them relief ; without strength to cut down trees, they had to content themselves with willows for fuel over which they had to watch all night being unable to enjoy

sleep from the constant pinching of the cold. After struggling on for some days our friend's two companions became so discouraged, that great persuasion had to be used before they could be induced to leave the hut in the morning, and after they had resumed the journey they did not go far until they felt overcome and unable to proceed any further and lay down on the ice to wait patiently for death to put an end to their misery. The clerk seeing that he could not prevail on them to make another effort to save themselves, bade them farewell and continued on his journey, but did not go many miles until he espied a party of men on the lake coming towards him. These were North-West men who were going in search of Indians, and who had just left their camp in the nearest point; on meeting him some returned with him to the camp which they had left, a short time before, and kindly ministered to his wants, and gave him some information on the way and distance to the Fort for which after being refreshed he set out; but not before he had the pleasure of seeing his companions rescued from an untimely and miserable death, brought to the hut and supplied with food by their kind neighbors, who in the morning had left a quantity of potatoes in the hut, which nearly proved fatal during the ensuing night to the famished men who could not restrain the cravings of their appetites, but indulged freely in the use of the potatoes.

The clerk arrived that night at the North-West Fort and on the following day men were sent with dogs and sleds for the two men left behind and brought them to the place, where they were fed and cared for until their health and strength had been restored after which they were supplied with provisions to serve them until they arrived at Fort Douglas.

Such generosity on the part of the North-West traders may appear strange to some of my readers; but here I must candidly state that up to that time, 1813, there was nothing approaching to animosity existing between the servants of the two companies; the struggle for existence between the rivals had not yet commenced, if any little difficulties occurred they were always speedily settled, generally in a very friendly and pleasant manner over a "flowing bowl" of Demara punch.

When the winter of 1812–13 had passed, with all its concomitant

evils, and the spring advanced with all its genial influences; when the soft winds of the south and the warm rays of the sun had dissolved the snow on the plains and the ice on the rivers, fish of all kinds began to swarm in every stream, and wild fowl became abundant over the whole country. These favorable changes never fail to infuse gladness into every heart in the land, and never did a change from one extreme of temperature to the opposite extreme, and from poverty to plenty, bring greater joy into the human heart than it brought into the hearts of the destitute and miserable immigrants of 1812, who with the change of the season changed their residence; leaving the plains of Dakota and Pembina passed on to Fort Douglas, and here once more Mr. McDonell had the pleasure of seeing all his people united and under his immediate command. Here each colonist had a lot of land assigned to him, and all commenced the arduous and tedious work of subduing the earth in order that it might bring forth food for themselves and for their families.

This labor was undertaken with no more efficient implements than hoes, and feeble as these instruments were, they could not obtain as much seed as they could be able to commit to the ground. But here again the North West Company's partner in Red River lent a helping hand, by either giving or selling to the Colony Governor some wheat, barley, potatoes, garden seeds, a bull, four cows, some pigs and some fowls, which had been brought from Canada at great expense; and altough still disapproving the motives under which the settlement was established they did all in their power to relieve the distress and wants of the colonists. Mr. McDonell was not backwards in acknowledging his obligations for their assistance, both in his letters and in his verbal communications with the traders, but these were soon forgotten when his difficulties diminished, and he was aware that all his zeal was required in carrying into effect by active measures the views of his employers. Early in the spring of 1813, when he had so far by the assistance of the North-West traders overcome the difficulties of his situation, his conduct, which had hitherto been rather temporizing than friendly, became less equivocal. In his capacity of Governor and representative of Lord Selkirk, he told the Indians that they must take to him alone, for

sale, their provisions and peltries, being the produce of lands of which his Lordship was proprietor, and on which, consequently, they could only hunt with his permission; a doctrine ridiculed by the natives, but of a nature to rouse all the apprehensions of the Canadian traders, whose existence, not only on the Red River, but in great part of the country, depended upon the provisions procured at their posts within Lord Selkirk's grant.

We have stated above that the Jesuit Fathers Charles Baunbault and Isaac Jogues visited Lake Superior as early as 1641, and individual laics, led by curiosity or love of adventure, made flying visits even to the great Dakota tribes that lived on the plains of the South-West. But the first trader, of whom we have any account, who erected his log hut at the mouth of the Kaministigoya, was Daniel Greysolon du Luth, who had the honor of being the first who established a trading post to the west of the Sault St. Marie. He left Quebec to explore the country of the Dacotahs and Assiniboines in the month of September, 1678, and passed the following winter trading with the Assiniboines, who lived in the surrounding forests. We are informed by history that the enterprising du Luth, during the summer of 1679, visited some encampments of the Dacotahs where no Frenchman had ever been. After his return we find him meeting the Assiniboines and other nations at the head of Lake Superior for the purpose of settling their difficulties with the Dacotahs and was successful. History does not inform us whether he extended his trading posts towards Rainy Lake or not, but as we find him soon after toward the Mississippi in a military capacity we are inclined to believe that he did not continue to carry on the trade in peltries, and apparently no further steps had been taken for some years to extend the peltry trade in the Nor' West.

In 1731 M. Verendrye having formed a trading company with some Montreal merchants, who equipped him for his journey, set out for Lake Superior with Pere Messager, a missionary priest. He had received orders to take possession in the King's name of all countries he should discover, also, to examine them carefully in order to form an idea what facilities they might possess for establishing a route across them to connect Canada and Louisiana with the sea board of the Pacific. To enable him to perform this useful

service no public aid was given him, if promised, and as a consequence, he was obliged to linger about the intermediate regions, attending to his own interests and that of his partners, till the year 1733. Previously to the year 1731 .some of his people starting from Kamanistigoya, a fort constructed to the north of Lake Superior in 1717 by Lieutenant Robertal de Lanoue, passed to the Lake of Lapline, where they built Fort St. Peter, then to the Lake des Bois, where they erected Fort St. Charles in 1732; next they followed the course of the river Winnipeg, upon a bank of which they raised, in 1734, Fort Maurepas. The adventurers took possession of the country for a double purpose: to fulfil the obligation they owed to their King, and to establish fortified posts useful to themselves for the prosecution of their private trade. Continuing their travels they crossed Lake Dauphin and Swan Lake, discovered Red Deer River and ascended the Saskatchewan to the junction of its two great branches. They are said to have established several trading forts (*i e*) Fort Dauphin, at the head of Lake Manitoba, and Fort de La Reine at its foot; also, Fort Bourbon, on the Biche River, at the head of Lake Winnipeg; lastly, Fort Rouge, in the angle formed by the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. They continued afterwards, directed by M. de Verendrye's brother and sons, to advance westwardly, other whiles northerly, but without finding the ocean they were in quest of. In one of these explorations, during the year 1736, a son of M. de Verendrye, the Jesuit, Pere Aneau, and twenty others were massacred by the Sioux, in an island in the Lake Des Bois. The enterprising Verendryes are said to have extended their travels in 1742 to the Yellow Stone River, and in the following year to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Their course, no doubt, had been up the Assiniboine River, thence across the plains to the Missouri River, following its course to the Mountains. The travellers on their return were cut off by the savages. Verendrye spent 40,000 livres on his travels; he expected some pecuniary compensation, but was practically denied. But his successors reaped the fruits of his patriotic, self-denying and extensive labours, and so judicious was his choice of the localities where he built his trading posts, that some of them have been occupied as centres of Indian trade up to

the present time, and to his enterprising genius we may attribute the only settlements which the French had on the Saskatchewan, namely, Fort Bourbon, at the head of Cedar Lake, and Fort la Come in lat. 53½, 103 west longtitude, the last of the French settlements on the above river.

The war which transferred the Dominion of Canada from France to Great Britain deranged the widely extended trade carried on from Montreal, on the one side to the shores of Hudson's Bay, and on the other side to Fort la Come, on the Saskatchewan, and probably to the tops of the Assiniboine River. But after the cession of Canada and the restoration of peace, numbers of British born subjects entered into the fur trade, who, after a few years, fixed their headquarters at the Grand Portage, near the mouth of Pigeon River. The first of these enterprising adventurers of whom we have any account was Mr. Thomas Currie, who in 1767 entered the Saskatchewan with four canoes and wintered at the west end of Cedar Lake. The success of his expedition roused the cupidity of other bold spirits. Mr. James Finlay was the next who entered the great river, pushed on to Fort la Come* where he wintered, and remained a number of years on the borders of the great river, occupied in the fur trade. Mr. Frobisher, with a brigade of 30 or 40 canoes, in 1775 met the Indians on their way to Churchil, in lat. 55½ and long. 103½, and bought all their peltries, thereby removing the necessity of their long journey to the Bay. He returned the following year with his canoes loaded with choice prime furs, and tradition did not hesitate to say that he cleared £10,000 by his adventure, and sent his brother westward who penetrated to Isle a la Cross, and retained a large interest in the concern till 1798. In 1778 several of the traders on the Saskatchewan, finding that they had a quantity of goods on hand, or to spare, agreed to put them in common stock, and gave them in charge to Mr. Peter Pond who was directed to proceed tot he Athabaska, where he wintered, and obtained more furs than his canoes could carry out. And here we beg to inform the reader that this association formed by a few petty traders, amid the marshes on the lower part of the Saskatchewan was the germ from which the great North-West

*Lat. 52½, Long. 103. McKenzie's Travels.

Company sprung which in a few years extended its discoveries and trade to the Arctic and Pacific oceans. Though a little out of chronological order we must mention the first appearance of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Saskatchewan, which took place in the year 1774, eleven years after the Treaty of Paris, and seven years after Thomas Currie settled at the west end of Cedar Lake. We have stated in a former part of this work the injurious effect, the presence of the French-Canadian traders in the interior had on the profits at the factories on the shores of Hudson's Bay. As the Indians could now barter their peltries for articles of European manufacture within their hunting grounds; thereby removing the necessity that compelled them in former years to spend the summer months in the performance of long and dangerous voyages, over stormy lakes and rivers full of rapids and cataracts. To remedy the evil, and to restore their declining trade, the Company saw the necessity of carrying their goods to the natives, as the latter would no longer take their trade to the Bay, and for the accomplishment of that object an expedition was sent inland in 1774, under the command of Mr. Hearne, the discoverer of Coppermine River, who continued on till he reached Pine Island Lake, where he built his fort, ninety-two years after York Factory had been settled. Once roused from the torpid state in which they existed on the frozen shores of the Bay, they followed the example set them by their more energetic competitors, and, in little more than twenty years, had extended their trading posts from Cumberland to the base of the Rocky Mountains. Thus, side by side, with their rivals from Canada, forming commercial relations with the savage tribes that roam over the vast plains through which both branches of the great river flow; and who, according to Sir Alexander McKenzie's account, occupied the following regions, and the number of warriors in each band or tribe in 1798, namely, at Nepowe and south branch, thirty tents of Bristineaux or 90 warriors, and sixty tents of Stone Indians, 200 warriors. Their hunting grounds extended up to the Eagle Hills. Those who trade at Forts George and Agustus, 80 tents; Crees on either side of the river, 200 tents. In the same country are 140 tents of Stone Indians; not quite the half of them inhabit the west woody country, their number cannot be less

than 450. The Sarcees on the north branch, 35 tents or 120. Opposite to these on the eastward near the head waters of the south branch are the Peigans, numbering from 1200 to 1500 men; next to them are the Blood Indians to the number of 50 tents or 200 men. From them downwards extend the Blackfeet Indians of the same nation as the two last tribes; their number may be 800 men. Next to them and extending to the confluence of the two branches are the Fall or Big-bellied Indians, who may amount to 600 warriors. The Crees or Bristineaux, as called by some writers, and known among themselves by the name of "Nehec Ethinniwoc," have been at all times since the advent of the whites probably the most numerous tribe of Indians on the east side of the Rocky Mountains; and occupied, and at the present time do occupy, a wider range of hunting grounds than any other of the aboriginal nations in what has been known as Rupert's Land, their hunting grounds extending from the vicinity of Ungava Bay to James' Bay, thence northwardly along the shores of Hudson's Bay to Churchil River on the north, which formed the boundary between them and the Chepewayan, and in the south-westerly direction to where in former times they met the Assiniboines, and of late years, since the Assiniboines have moved to the west, met the Saulteaux or Ojibois, who speak a cognate dialect, and who have formed marriages with the Crees, whence a race has sprung who speak a mixed dialect and on whom the trader have imposed the new name of Nachdawewoc. This mixed people occupy the country on each side of the height of land north of Lake Superior and Rainy Lake and to the north-east of Lake Winnipeg.

In 1682 the English company took possession of the mouth of the Nelson River, and in the same autumn the French from Canada passed the winter near the sea on St. Theresa's or Hay's River, and although from that day to the treaty of Utrecht they had carried on a destructive war with each other, yet there was one thing in which they seemed to agree, namely, in supplying the natives with fire-arms and ammunition, which they soon learned to use with deadly effect against the inland tribes, whose only weapons of war were the tomahawk, the bow and the arrow. The swampy Crees would be induced by many reasons to abandon the frosty

forests that border on the Bay, and press on to a milder climate and occupy a country abounding in the larger animals of the chase. The Crees, who visited the trading posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the Assiniboines, who traded in 1678 with du Luth at the west end of Lake Superior, were about the same time put in possession of fire arms, and within a few years thereafter they seemed as if by mutual consent to have made a simultaneous movement, the former pressing on to the south west, the latter pursuing their course to the north-west until they met in the region west of Lake Winnipeg, and on the plains of Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Indian tradition informs us that during the first half of the last century the Mandans occupied the country to the south-west of Lake Winnipeg, and that they had been forced by the united efforts of their invaders to leave their hunting grounds and retire to the Upper Missouri. But how long it took these tribes to drive out those whom they found in possession of the country, and what wars they carried on to accomplish that object, are lost in the mist of years. However, we have had the evidence of a living witness to the fact, that the Crees and the Assiniboines lived on the plains south-west of Lake Winnipeg for some years previous to the year 1780, and that they made a preconcerted attack that year on the trading posts on the Assiniboine. These small houses were at Portage la Prairie, and represented three different associations, and had but few men at each. The Indians had kept their intentions so hid from the whites that the latter were altogether unprepared to resist the onslaught made by their painted and feathered assailants, who made themselves masters of two of the houses, massacred those who defended them and carried away the booty. Intoxicated by their success and confiding in their prowess they rushed on to attack the third house, which was defended by a Mr. Bruce at the head of a few men. Mr. Bruce was known among the savages by the formidable name of Ketelie Mink-man, *i. e.* Big Knife. He was evidently known among the Indian tribes for his bravery and determined courage, and they learned by sad experience on the present occasion that his fame for valor had not been over-rated, for he not only defended his post but slew a number of those by whom he had been attacked, thereby admonishing the survivors to

beat a timely retreat, leaving the resolute and formidable Bruce in possession of the slain and of the field of battle. How far the savages intended to carry their hostility towards the traders we have not been able to learn, but we may presume that their defeat before Mr. Bruce's little post at Portage la Prairie cooled their military ardour, and the following year small-pox of a most virulent type attacked the tribes in the vicinity of Red River and spread over all the Indian Territories, even to the shores of Hudson's Bay. As late as the year 1815 the bleached bones of those, who had become the victims of the plague, were to be seen in great quantities at several points on the shores of the Bay. The Assiniboines were encamped at several points near the Red River when the disease appeared among them, and was attended by the most fatal effects; so much so, that ten years after, when the Red Lake Ojibways came, for the first time, to Pembina to trade, they found the Assiniboines, or rather, a small remnant of that once numerous tribe in that vicinity. After some days had been devoted to feasting and the mutual interchange of presents, the Assiniboine orators pathetically deplored the miserable condition of their people, stating that wherever they went they saw nothing but the bleached bones of their kindred; that their former allies, the Crees, had always been treacherous, and that on the appearance of the disease they went before it to the west. "We are no longer able to resist our enemies, the Sioux. Come, then, and live with us! Let us have one fire and one dish. The country is large and full of all kinds of wild animals. You need not fear want." After spending some time with their new made friends, the Ojibways went back to Red Lake for their families, and returned the following year to join their allies. Their descendants still occupy the banks of the lower Red River and the shores of Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg. The Hudson's Bay Company's servants made their appearance, for the first time, in Red River in the year 1793. They met the Assiniboines in small groups at different points along the lower Red River and along the Assiniboine River, as far west as the mouth of the Little Souris, where the English company erected their first trading establishment to the south-west of Lake Winnipeg. This expedition had been equipped at Albany on James' Bay and was conducted by Mr.

Donald McKay, a veteran trader, who had, in connection with some other petty traders, passed a few winters on the plains among the buffalo and the beaver. McKay built in juxtaposition to two of his former rivals in trade, the North-West and XY Companies and during the winter traded with the Assiniboines. The Crees had passed on to the West, chiefly to Swan River. The Hudson's Bay posts on the Red River had remained connected with Albany until the introduction of the new system in 1810. When it (to wit) the Red River District, had been transferred to the newly-formed Northern Department. Much could be said of the manner in which the trade was carried on with the simple-minded natives. Intoxicating liquor was the first thing presented to the savage when he arrived at the fort, and the last thing given him when he left it; not only in opposition but along the shores of Hudson's Bay where no rival traders existed within hundreds of miles.

CHAPTER III.

EMIGRANTS FOR THE EARL'S COLONY—A CASE OF LOVE—TYPHUS FEVER ON BOARD THE SHIPS—TRADING WITH THE ESQUIMAUX—ARRIVAL AT NELSON RIVER—GREAT PRIVATIONS—A FIRE—WANT OF IMPLEMENTS—CONTENTION BETWEEN RIVAL COMPANIES—ARRESTED—DISSATISFACTION AMONG SETTLERS'—A FIGHT—TRIED AND ACQUITTED—COLONISTS RETURNING TO CANADA—DR. STRACHAN'S HOSPITALITY.

While those who had arrived on the plains of the Red River, in the season of 1812, were battling for dear life during the following winter and spring, His Lordship was not unmindful of the great work which he had commenced and determined to carry on. In the beginning of the year 1813 he employed agents, in the North of Scotland, to engage servants for the Hudson's Bay Company and settlers for the colony.

The time was favourable for the accomplishment of these objects. The late Marchioness of Stafford and Duchess of Sutherland in her own right, the only offspring of the last Duke of Sutherland, commenced a few years before the selfish and cruel work of clearing the country of its inhabitants, leasing the farms to sheep-herds who stocked their holdings, in many places very extensive tracts, with sheep. Many of these unfortunate people were driven by the force of circumstances, or rather, the force of cruel and unnatural laws, from their humble, but once happy homes, which they had occupied, and which, in many cases, had been occupied by their forefathers, for many generations, under the good and kind Earls of former times, without knowing where to find a home to shelter themselves and their unfortunate families, and not in a few cases destitute of food, and of means wherewith to procure it. Their only wealth consisted in a few small black cattle and some sheep; these could not be readily turned into cash, and even when these unfortunate people found a market for their stock, the prices were generally so low that selling was but another downward step to ruin. All who could realize a trifle by the sale of their proper-

ty turned their thoughts towards the western world, and anxiously waited for the first chance of transporting themselves and their families to the North American continent, expecting there to find a resting place which the beloved land of their forefathers no longer afforded them.

This crisis in their affairs was well calculated to aid his Lordship's scheme of planting a colony on the banks of the Red River. Numbers of the farmers and crofters of the strath of Kildonan, and in some other parts of the country of Sutherland, had been evicted in the spring of 1813. Many of them found means of transportation to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and to the Island of St. John, now Prince Edward's Island, others flocked to His Lordship's agents, offering to become settlers in the new colony, which was to be planted, and if any reliance could be placed on his Lordship's flattering prospectus, "a land flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands." A few families, about twenty in number, each averaging about five souls, embarked in the *Enterprise*; agreeing to pay ten pounds sterling per head. For this sum, a passage was to be provided for them to the place of their destination, and they were to be furnished with provisions for twelve months after the day of their embarkation. To these families may be added some unmarried young men and young women, who were sent by their parents along with these families for the express purpose of taking possession of lots of land, building houses, and bringing under cultivation as much land as possible. In few words, they were to prepare for the reception of their parents and the younger members of their respective families, when ejected from their mountain homes. To the colonists were added a number of young men from all parts of Scotland, who were engaged for a term of three years. Some of them were to serve in the fur trade, others were to serve in the colony. Each of the laborers was to be paid twenty pounds sterling per annum and, at the end of their term of service, each became entitled to one hundred acres of land in Red River.

During the first week in June, 1813, the Earl of Selkirk, on his way north, arrived in Sutherlandshire, where he remained for some time, holding intercourse with intending emigrants, making many

promises of future favour, and pointing out to them the advantages which the change they were about to make would ultimately confer upon them. After arranging affairs and giving all necessary instructions to his agents, he proceeded on to Thurso, where he remained a short time, preparing for the reception of the colonists and servants, who were expected to arrive there in a few days. After these arrangements had been accomplished His Lordship passed over the Pentland Firth to Stromness. Soon after his departure the colonists and servants began to make their appearance in the good old town of Thurso. Here their stay was short. The agent had a coasting vessel ready to receive and to transport to Stromness the motley crowd of both sexes and of all ages who pressed into the town during the last few days. The embarkation commenced in the forenoon, and by one o'clock all were on board the singularly arranged and singularly freighted craft. The fore part of the hold was formed into a huge bin, filled with oatmeal; the after part of the hold was occupied by two splendid quadrupeds of the bovine tribe (a bull and a cow) from Ball' n' Ghobhainn in Rossshire, and which had travelled so far on their way to the new colony. All things being ready the sloop hoisted sail. The passengers who had to accommodate themselves on deck, as circumstances admitted, raised their bonnets and bade farewell to their beloved friends and relations, who had gathered at this place to give them the last embrace, the last shake of the hand and to see them on board.

The wind blew freshly from the hills and the *Water-witch* cut her way swiftly through the rough and foamy waves of the Pentland Firth. All on board, except the stout quadrupeds and sailors, were prostrated by that most nauseous complaint, sea-sickness, groaning distressively and heartily wishing themselves once more on *terra firma*. The oft expressed wish was soon gratified. Late in the evening we came in sight of the little village of Stromness, and soon afterwards were anchored in its quiet and safe harbour, and those who had been sick a few minutes before became suddenly well. A few boats came alongside on which we were embarked and from which we landed a few minutes after. Here we were billeted to the different houses in the town; the Hon. Company

allowing each of us a certain sum per diem for board and lodging. Here we must not omit to state that the aged and the very young, who were going to the colony, had a passage provided for them by sea from Helmsdale, and had arrived at this rendezvous a few hours before us. Ireland and the western islands of Scotland contributed their quota of intending settlers and labourers who were waiting here for a passage to Hudson's Bay.

Stromness, at the time of which we write, was a small village; yet it was honoured and protected by a few companies of pensioners, who were quartered at the place and did duty at a half-moon battery, that stood near the harbour, for the protection of the town and the ships that were constantly calling there. These soldiers and the new-comers filled the little town, and, no doubt, enhanced the price of everything that could contribute to man's comfort, especially food and lodgings. A few found tolerable accommodations, others had to take up their quarters in garrets, every house being occupied to the full extent of its capacity. And, if our Orcadian friends laid a heavy hand on our purses, they repaid us to some extent by many kind words and friendly attentions. Boat building for the herring fisheries on the coast of Caithness seemed to be the chief, if not the only business, carried on in the place, and we may admit that a considerable portion of its wealth was derived from the trade carried on with the ships of all descriptions and of all nations that frequented its commodious and safe harbour. A few days after the landing of the emigrants, the Hudson's Bay ships and a brig bound for the Moravian Missions on the frozen shores of Labrador, under the protection of the *Brazen*, a sloop of war, came to anchor before the town.

About the 20th of June all were embarked. The colonists were lodged between decks in the *Prince of Wales*; the Company's servants were put on board the *Eddystone*. While the vessels lay here an incident occurred which I cannot forbear relating: A fair-haired, blue-eyed lassie had been wooed and won by a fine-looking, athletic young man, who had been her neighbour in her native village; but cruel fate forbade their union. He, on some account, enlisted in the militia, but had not joined his regiment. The dread of eviction from their home, which continually haunted and dis-

tressed her parents, reduced her to the necessity of emigrating to the plains of the western wilderness, to prepare, or help to prepare, a resting place for the loved ones she left behind, and who were likely soon to be driven from their once happy home. Her lover followed close in her footsteps, and overtook her at Thurso. Here he arranged for his passage to Red River and went as far as Stromness, and while the ships lay before that place a recruiting sergeant came to the ship, presented his warrant, seized the young and faithful lover, and took him away to the army, leaving the fair one of his love to mourn her bereavement.

The morning of the 28th of June 1813 saw our little fleet of four sails weigh anchor, set sail, and pass on through the mouth slowly and steadily before a fresh breeze of north east wind, and as we sailed along the north coast of our beloved native land, one after another of its lofty mountains seemed to sink its head in the waves and disappear. Sea sickness prostrated many to so great a degree that they could not think of anything but their own suffering, country friends and relatives left behind were all forgotten by these unfortunates; but there were others who were able to reflect and realize their position. All felt sad, but not to an equal degree. Some bade farewell for ever to their native hills. Those who were engaged only for a few years, kept up their sinking spirits with the thought that their time of service would soon expire, when they would return to their native land and once more be in the presence and society of those whom they had left behind. However, few, very few, ever returned to realize the soul sustaining hope, which cheered their hearts in that sad and trying hour. Little did these heavy hearted exiles know, or even think that there were far greater sufferings and heart rending trials before them than those which they had to endure on bidding a last adieu to their friends, and to the land of their birth. Little did they know that in a few weeks time they would have to endure the burning pains of typhus fever in the over crowded and ill ventilated hold of a ship, never intended for the transport of any great number of people. For some time everything went on well, with only one incident to break the dull monotony of a voyage on the Atlantic.

On the evening of the second day after leaving Stromness, we sighted a large American privateer steering across our course and towing a small schooner which she had captured in the North Sea. On seeing our fleet the privateer cast off her prize, spread her canvass and steered south-west before the wind, which blew freshly at the time. The *Brazen* gave chase, and recaptured the prize. Some time was lost by the *Brazen*, while putting some of her men on board the schooner, to navigate her into some British port. After this delay, the chase was resumed and continued during the night, but day-light convinced the British captain that he had been pursuing in vain for the privateer was no where to be seen.

In the afternoon of the second day the *Brazen* rejoined the vessels under her protection. After this stirring affair all things held "the even tenor of their way" until we arrived in the vicinity of Greenland. Here we began to feel the chilling effects of these wonderful accumulations of ice and frozen snow, commonly called ice-bergs.

On a bright calm July morning we beheld a few of these glittering mountains; the sun rose in all its splendour, diffusing her bright illuminating beams over a cloudless sky, while her dazzling rays seemed to be reflected by a smooth and unruffled expanse of ocean. As we progressed to the north-west these floating mountains increased in number until we crossed Davis' Straits and entered those of Hudson, where we met the pack ice. Here we learned that typhus fever had appeared with fatal effects among the colonists on board the *Prince of Wales.* A few had been already consigned to the keeping of the great deep; others were prostrated by the disease, whose condition was reported to be almost hopeless. Our progress through the straits was slow and difficult, the ice being unusually heavy and compact. When we had well advanced towards the Bay and lay near the north shore of the straits, we were visited by these extraordinary specimens of humanity, the Esquimaux. The morning was bright and calm, the streams of open water in which the ships lay were smooth and shining like a mirror under the beams of the morning sun.

At an early hour the open water was literally covered with a numerous fleet of umiacks and kyacks. These crafts have frames

of wood; the wood frame is covered with the skin of some marine animal, probably that of the whale. The umiack is fashioned or formed like a boat, and without a deck. The kyack, in shape, like the birch canoe of the red man, with this difference, that the kyack is covered on the top and is navigated by a single individual who sits midway between stem and stern, and uses a paddle which has a blade on each end, is held by the middle and is dexterously wielded by the rower, first striking a stroke on one side, then on the other, propelling and steering his tiny bark through floats of ice and over angry and tumultuous waves, often against both wind and tide. The umiacks seemed to be filled with aged men, women and children; some aged patriarchs steered, the ladies did the rowing. The youngsters, not to be idle, screamed and tumbled over each other in the bottom of the frail crafts.

On approaching the ships they made a most discordant noise, whooping and yelling their customary salutations of *Jimo Pilate.* On their arrival at the ships, or rather at the ship, for the *Prince of Wales* refused to traffic with them, being apprehensive of their becoming infected with the fever that raged on that ship, a very brisk trade commenced between them and the *Eddystone*, the savages handing over their oil, ivory, some fox skins, and even their clothing, in many cases stripping themselves to a state of nudity, for which they received, in return, razors of the most inferior quality, knives, a few short hand-saws, needles, and though last, not the least esteemed, bits of iron hoops. These poor ignorant people, on receiving these trifles, expressed their joy in the most extravagant manner, for instance, when an individual had acquired the coveted treasure he licked it with the tongue, at the same time, shouting, leaping and laughing: the bit of rusty iron hoop was received with demonstrations indicating equal satisfaction. This trade, convenient for both parties, and no doubt profitable to the white man, continued from the morning until the evening, when the natives retired to their frozen rocks, where summer, with its genial influences, never softens the frozen earth; where no herbage clothes the ground nor flowers adorn the landscape, except a few stinted lichens that seem to creep temerariously out of the cliffs of their parent rock as if afraid to come into contact with the frosty,

stormy blasts that sweep over these sterile rocks and stormy seas. We may well suppose that when the earth was divided among the sons of men, the unfortunate Esquimaux must have come in for the last cut.

As I said above, our passage through the straits was slow, but on entering the Bay we found open water, with here and there a float or field of floating ice, tossed about by wind and tide. Having arrived at the point where the Hon. Company's ships part with each other, all the servants, intended for the northern department, were embarked on His Majesty's sloop of war, which, in company with the *Prince of Wales*, steered her course for Churchil River.

Our passage across the Bay was quick and pleasant, and about noon on the 12th day of August, 1813, we beheld the low and uninteresting shores of Hudson's Bay stretched before us, presenting its narrow border of yellow sand and dark blue swamp in the front, with its dark and dismal looking line of spruce and tamarack in the back ground. The scenery appeared bleak and desolate beyond the power of description. In a few hours, after we had seen the land, we were passing up the river between Cape Merry on our left, and Esquimaux Point terminating the low narrow slip of granite formation on our right, on which Fort Prince of Wales once stood. The Churchil River at this point is very narrow and deep. The Fort was commenced in 1733 and built chiefly, if not entirely, of granite. It stood within 30 or 40 yards of the river. The engineer who superintended the building describes it thus:— A square fort with four bastions. All the stone, lime-stone, sand, the wood for burning the lime, were within a quarter mile's distance from the place. Horses were employed to drag the material to the place. Servants' wages were extremely low; yet with all these faculties the building was rendered useless for the purpose of defence owing to the ignorance and stubbornness of the Governor, whose word was the law of the land. By the original plans the rampart was to be 43 feet thick, but the Governor was sure that 25 feet would do; so the original plan was laid aside, and so was the engineer's opinion, and the man in power had it all his own way, His Excellency, doubtless, believing himself equally capable

of judging the strength of fortifications as well as the quality of beaver skins.

After having trespassed so far on the reader's time and patience, we will resume our narrative. Leaving the ruins of the old Fort behind us, we passed into an expansion of the river affording good and secure anchorage and sufficiently capacious to contain a numerous fleet. In the afternoon of the 13th we were taken to the new, or present factory, a few miles higher up the river than where the old Fort stood, and, when landed, we were left at full liberty to accommodate ourselves with lodgings on the bare rock where every man could please his own taste, as the Honorable Company's agents did not think proper to admit us into the Fort, nor to provide us with tents to shelter us without. However, our stay was but short. Four or five days after landing, we were embarked in boats and set out for York Factory, which was at that period headquarters of the Northern Department. After passing down the river we proceeded along the coast, and in three or four days arrived at Broad Rivers, where we took refuge for the night. While here a great storm of wind came on which continued for two days, and, as prudent economy was the order of the day, the stock of provisions allowed us for the journey began to look small. The boats were crowded with new hands, and to avoid starvation, our commander judged it expedient to send off about forty of the party to go by land to York Factory. The party was placed under the guidance of a man who had been in the country some years before, but who, unfortunately, knew nothing of the line of road which we ought to follow. The first day we travelled on ridges of sand and gravel, which, at some former period, had been thrown up by the tumultuous waves of the great inland sea, when lashed into fury by the stormy winds of the north. These ancient sea beaches extend for many miles inland, demonstrating the encroachment of the land on the waters of the Bay. In our journey on the second day, our guide, in the afternoon, led us into a swamp with water knee deep, the surface at every step yielding under us, rendering our travelling not only slow, but extremely fatigueing; however, as the sun was going down, chance or good fortune, brought us to a dry ridge where we

passed the night. On the third day, at an early hour, we despatched our meal, and to our dismay, found that we had finished the last of our food. York Factory, to which we were travelling, and the only place where our wants could be supplied, was forty or fifty miles distant with the broad and rapid Nelson River to cross, notwithstanding the difficulties which lay in our way, being all young and hearty men, we scorned to complain or show any signs of weakness. We had the good fortune to keep out of the swamps and had fine dry ground to travel on all day; and in the evening we arrived at Sam's Creek, where we found a shanty, built for the accommodation of a few men who were sent there from York Factory in the spring and fall of the year, for the management of the goose hunt. But when we arrived there, there were neither Indians, white men or geese, and for want of anything better to sup on, we gathered a few nettle leaves, boiled them in water, ate, and went to rest.

The following morning we went a few miles up along the River, gathered piles of pine brush, to which we set fire, to let those at the Factory know that parties were waiting to be ferried over. The weather was fine, and we had plenty of dry wood for fuel, so that we did not feel our want of food as much as we would undoubtedly have done under less favourable circumstances.

On observing the columns of smoke that rose from the heaps of wood and brush that we set on fire, some boats were sent to our relief, and about noon of the fifth day of our training for the Hon. Company's service, the boats came to us, and in a few hours were landed on the east side of the Nelson. Five miles had to be travelled over before we reached the Factory. The path was a very miry and unpleasant one, but in the evening we arrived, all safe with very keen appetites, at the great emporium of the fur trade in the northern department of Rupert's Land. Here we were supplied with food, but, most unaccountably, there were no houses in the place to afford us lodgings, and in consequence we had to bivouac on the river bank before the Fort. Our companions whom we left in the boat were not many days behind us, and soon after their arrival we were dispersed over the whole country, many of us no more to meet in this world.

But, as their history is not our object, we must return to the fever-stricken and miserable colonists. We have never been able to ascertain the number of deaths that took place on board the ship, but the disease was raging among them when they arrived at the Churchil River, and although they were released in a few days after from what had proved to them to have been no better than a pestiferous prison; yet, after having been landed, or rather thrown ashore on the bare rocks at Sloop's Cove, their condition had not been much improved. Their food, for the most part, consisted of such as was taken from the ship; fresh provisions for so many could not be easily procured. They were not provided with anything to shelter or protect them from the heat by day or from the frost by night. It is true, after they had been landed, they could move about, if their health and strength permitted. They had the benefit of the refreshing and invigorating breezes of that northern climate. Notwithstanding, the fever continued unabated, carrying off its victims daily. The few who escaped the fever were worn out with nursing and watching the sick and the dying. The convalescent were emaciated and feeble, and many of them were so prostrated, morally and physically, that they coveted the fate of those who had been set free by the hand of death from the sorrows and sufferings of this mortal life; even the stoutest hearts could not think of their sad and forlorn condition but with feelings of the most poignant grief and apprehension of future calamities. Much has been said about the quantity and quality of the food served out to the colonists from the Company's stores, and all that has been said may be true; even the Company's servants who wintered at the posts, along the Bay, were on very short allowance during the winter, and it is not likely that Churchil had been supplied more liberally than other places; and further, I may observe that nothing but the most common kinds of provisions were at that period brought into the country. If anything suitable, for the nourishment of the sick, had been at the place, and had the doctor recommended it to be given, let us believe, for human nature sake, that the gentleman in charge would have freely bestowed it. However, we may admit, without any doubt, that to the want of proper and suitable nourishment and to the entire

absence of warm and comfortable lodging, may be justly attributed many of the deaths which took place after the landing. As the autumn advanced the inclemency of the weather increased to such a degree, that it became absolutely necessary for them to leave the barren rocks, on which they had been landed and on which they had suffered so much misery and bereavement, and remove to a place that would afford wood for building and fuel. Such a place was not to be found near the Fort, and in consequence they had to go a distance of fifteen miles up the river to where the primeval forest stood unbroken in all its solemn and silent grandeur. We can easily conceive the difficult task these men had to perform. The axe is an unwieldy weapon in hands unaccustomed to its use; and such were these men, and besides they were, from the effects of their late sufferings, incapable of performing any great amount of hard labour.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they laboured, huts must be built to shelter themselves and their families from the inclemency of the season, and to work they went with indomitable resolution and untiring perseverance; the work, we may suppose, advanced slowly, and likely not in the most workmanlike manner, but before the winter had far advanced a few shanties had been erected in which these unfortunates had to huddle together. Logs had to serve as chairs, and mud flooring had to supply the want of beds, tables, &c., &c. We can easily fancy that these habitations were of the most simple construction and very ill adapted to defend their inmates from winter frosts, so often accompanied by heavy gales of wind, while Fahrenheit's thermometer ranged for months from 35 ° to 50 ° below zero, and many times in the course of the winter fell as low as 55 ° or even to 60 °. To the above we may add, that they had to drag on flat sleds the scanty rations dealt out to them from the Company's stores, and in order to receive the same and return with it to their families they had every week to perform a journey of thirty miles on snow-shoes.

While in Stromness His Lordship gave the emigrants to understand that there was no necessity to take money, clothing or articles of furniture along with them, as they could procure these things as cheap in Red River as in Stromness. The poor exiles found, to

their sad disappointment, that these words were of no value at Churchil; nothing could be obtained without ready cash, and at prices ranging from one to two hundred per cent. above what similar articles could be purchased at in their native land. When they complained of the deception practised upon them they were told that these promises could only be fulfilled at Red River. Here they were without cash and without credit, no doubt, many wants pressing on them, and unfortunately nine hundred miles from the place where they were promised cheap goods; and where they were led to believe all their toils and suffering would come to an end. However they found that complaints and remonstrances were useless, and had, for the present, to bear their unenviable condition with as much resignation and equanimity as possible. Before leaving their homes, His Lordship and his agents had suggested to them the desirableness of providing themselves with firearms for their defence against any attacks which might be made upon them by their enemies. They were not slow to follow that advice, and every man provided himself with a musket or fowling piece and ammunition, powder and duck shot as far as his means would enable him to do.

As the winter advanced, the willow grouse or white partridge became very plentiful, and the hungry Highlanders rejoiced to see their huts surrounded by the cheering presence of so much animal life, and could not fail to consider this unexpected abundance, as a providential deliverance wrought in their behalf, similar to that which had taken place in behalf of the chosen people of old; when, after their murmurings, the quails spread over their camp. The exiles began to hunt, to kill and to eat, promising themselves the pleasure of bidding farewell to hunger while surrounded by so much food. But alas! our joys are often transient and our hopes illusory and, unfortunately, so were theirs. Scarcely had they tasted of the abundance with which the whole land teemed before they were made to feel, and that bitterly, their dependent condition. Superintendent William Auld, knew, no doubt, that the partridges were not the enemies meant by His Lordship, and in consequence commanded every man to put the lock of his gun into the great man's keeping, with the threat that, refusing to comply with this

modest request would subject the refractory delinquent to the grievous pains and penalties of having his rations stopped.

We have stated a fact well known to all who were along the Bay at the time. Different motives have been ascribed to the superintendent in perpetrating this extraordinary act of despotism. Some said that his motives were good and humane, viz. : to keep these hungry men from strolling after the birds, and thereby run the risk of losing their way in the woods and perishing in the snow. Others said, and probably said with truth, that his action originated in a desire to keep the settlers dependent on the Company's stores for their subsistence. Or perhaps, taking for granted that the charter had conferred on his employers the exclusive right of hunting these fowls, and that any one unconnected with the Company, or without his license, who presumed to hunt them, ought to be treated as a poacher. Be the motive whatever it may have been, the superintendent's infamous interference, with what would no doubt have been a great benefit to those ill-fed people, must have proved highly injurious to their comfort and well-being. Hunting afforded a motive for exercise and added to their scanty supply of food, and both were very much required. Here we must relate an accident that took place at Churchil in December, 1813, which was calculated to do anything but draw forth the superintendent's sympathy towards his unfortunate country-men. We have said above that the colonists were wintering at a distance from the Factory, but some of them had, at stated periods, to come to that place to receive the rations served to them from the Company's stores, and as they could not return to their families the same day they were permitted to lodge in a room in the lower story of the dwelling-house. Unfortunately, when a few of them were passing the night in the room assigned to them, the ceiling above them caught fire. It was supposed at the time that the devouring element found its way through a chink in the chimney to the stuffing between the ceiling and the upper flooring. But where it originated, or from what cause, is hard to say. The entire house was reduced to ashes, and the settlers got the credit of what we believe to have been accidental. No lives were lost, and the devouring flames did not extend to the buildings where the provisions and

trading goods were stored. If these had been destroyed the resulting calamities would have been great and deplorable in the extreme; many of the settlers would in all probability have perished of cold and hunger. York Factory was the only place where help could be found, and to travel to it in the short cold days of midwinter would prove more than formidable to the weaker sex and the children; even men in the full vigor of life, if unaccustomed to travel on snow-shoes would find the journey a very hard one, especially if unsupplied with provisions. After the above untoward event had taken place and its immediate consequences remedied as far as could be done at that season of the year, the settlers made their weekly visits to the Company's store to draw their rations, and during their nightly stay lodged with the Company's servants, and thus time passed on until the beginning of April, when the long dreary and inclement winter of that sub-arctic region was drawn to an end, and the settlers began to prepare for their journey to York Factory. In the above month the days are long, and generally bright and sometimes mild in the height of the day; yet the frost at night in that season was very keen, and at times storms of wind prevailed which rendered travelling along the Bay slow, generally unpleasant, and sometimes dangerous. However, no time could be lost, the exiles had to start for York Factory, and about the middle of April they left their humble abodes at what has been known since their time as "The Colony Creek." Before leaving Churchil they received their gun-locks, and were provided with provisions and snow-shoes for the journey. They had to drag their rations, and as much of their baggage as they could, on flat sleds, and those who had children had to take them along as best they could. We cannot form an adequate conception of the misery suffered by these people on this trip. The females suffered most, as they were not so well protected from cold as the men were, and were less able to move through loose snow with these unmanageable requisites—snow-shoes—attached to their feet. We have not been able to learn how long they had been occupied in performing this journey of one hundred and forty miles, but we know that with the exception of some frost bites on noses, cheeks and chins, they arrived safely at the end of their journey, except a Mr. Angus McKay, whose

wife had been confined while on the journey. Their friends could not remain with them, and the only way in which they could help them was by giving to the unfortunate and forlorn pair, as much of their own rations as they could spare in order that they might not die of hunger before help could be sent to them from the Factory. We do not know how these people fared or how they were supported in their solitude, all we know is that they were taken to the Factory and to Red River, and in the summer of 1815 they were among those who left the colony for Canada, of whom we shall have something more to say hereafter. When the colonists arrived at the first stage of their journey they had to betake themselves to the forest the second time to erect huts or tents to live in until the opening of the river. These tents were composed of a few poles covered with brush, forming a very imperfect defence against wind, snow or rain, but on the whole their condition was much superior to what it had been at Churchil. Mr. W. H. Cook, an eccentric but kind-hearted gentleman, was in charge at York Factory at the time, and for many reasons wished the attempt to form the colony at Red River success as he and other fur traders, who had families in the country, began to look on the new settlement as likely to become, in the course of time, a desirable and convenient place of retirement, where they would enjoy the pleasure of spending the evening of life in the bosom of their families and in each other's society. These feelings, operating on a heart naturally kind, had the effect, and proved very advantageous to the colonists, so that they had great reason to congratulate themselves on their improved condition.

In the latter end of April the weather in that climate is generally mild and pleasant, geese and ducks begin to make their appearance, and in the month of May become plentiful over the whole land. They were permitted to hunt as much as they pleased. The migratory deer were very numerous in the vicinity during the spring and hunted by every one who could use a gun, but more especially by the Indians who took great quantities of venison to the Fort, of which the settlers received a liberal share. It is likely that the colonists did not leave the shores of the Bay before the middle of June. Seven hundred miles of difficult and

dangerous navigation lay between them and Red River. For miles, in the lower rivers, the boats had to be towed by men against a swift current, besides many discharges or landing places where part of the cargo had to be carried; and in other places the entire cargo had to be carried over on men's backs, the boats taken out of the water and launched over dry land. Besides lesser bodies of water, they had to pass over Lake Winnipeg, a distance of three hundred miles. Some "old hands", (Company's servants) who understood working the boats in the rapids, and over the lakes, were put into each boat with the colonists, who had to work as common laborers on the passage; to take the tow rope by turns, to tug at the oar from morning to night, and to carry the freight over the portages; and all this labour without any compensation. We cannot say when these people arrived in Red River, but it is likely that they had the pleasure of seeing the long looked for land of promise some time in the month of July; neither can we state the number that went inland by the first brigade. But, whatever may have been their number, their arrival added greatly to Governor McDonell's numerical strength and advantage, which he did not allow to pass without endeavoring to turn it to good account, as we shall see hereafter. A few of the aged immigrants remained at Churchil after the younger members of their families had left. These had a passage provided for them to York Factory in boats after the ice had cleared away from the shores of the Bay. Their condition, after their arrival there, was as miserable and distressing as it could possibly be, and this we say from personal knowledge of the case. An aged and venerable patriarch, with his aged and equally venerable partner in life, was there in the month of July and had taken up his residence in the ruins of the old Fort, destroyed by La Perouse and his Frenchmen in 1782. This man, who had been a substantial farmer in his native land, now appeared to be in the most destitute state imaginable. His habitation consisted of a few poles on which was stretched, as an apology for a covering, a piece of what had been in its better day, a boat sail, but now so tattered and torn that it was pervious to every blast of wind that blew and to every drop of rain that fell; the half frozen earth formed the flooring of his mean and uncomfortable abode.

He spoke mournfully of the sufferings and bereavements of his fellow exiles and companions in sorrow but said very little of his own sad fate. When ejected from his farm he disposed of his stock by auction; out of the proceeds he paid into His Lordship's hands ten guineas for the passage of each of his numerous family, and de posited a considerable sum in the Earl's hands to be drawn upon as circumstances might require; but here he could not get even a needle on the credit of his deposit. The surviving members of the family had gone to Red River, two did not; they had been cut off in early youth and consigned to the grave in the land of eternal frost. And here were the aged and broken hearted parents in their desolation without shelter, and with food barely sufficient to sustain life, deprived of all the property they once had possessed, and for what? exile and misery.

We have accompanied the immigrants from the brown hills and green straths of their native land to the wide spread plains of North America. We have endeavored to give a plain, unvarnished narrative of their sufferings from sickness, hunger and the toils which they had to endure by land and by water. We shall now say a few words on the manner in which they were received by Mr. Miles McDonell, the colony Governor.

A few days after their arrival, each head of family, and some young men who represented families who were expected to come the next year to the colony, were put in possession of 100 acres of land each. A few were supplied with two Indian ponies each, while their less fortunate brethren had to be content with one each of these useful animals. In the course of a few days His Excellency mustered his men, servants and settlers. All were treated to a glass of spirits and furnished with muskets and bayonets and ammunition. Two of the settlers refused to take these weapons of war. The Governor, at the same time, telling them, that according to the law of the land the strong dictated to the weak. The colonists were put in possession of land and ponies, but where were the implements of agriculture or even the iron to make them of. How strange there were none of these articles taken into the country although we can easily see that without the necessary implements the most industrious could not succeed. Yet His Lordship did not

forget to send a battery of field artillery with ammunition and tumbrels, with many chests of muskets and bayonets. The absence of the former and the abundance of the latter raises the idea in one's mind that His Lordship intended the immigrants to become soldiers rather than agriculturists. The new comers expected to find a supply of clothing and furniture for their money, but these were not to be had either for love or money, and the only provisions obtainable were a scanty supply of pemican and cat-fish, and that without the luxury of salt.

We shall now return to the spring of 1813 and trace up the transactions between the two companies during the following eventful winter. The few colonists who came to the country in 1812 were not provided with sufficient means to enable them to carry on agricultural operations with any fair prospect of success; and we may well believe that nothing had been attempted beyond the planting of a few potatoes, except what had been done on His Lordship's farm. Destitute of everything that could conduce to their advancement as agriculturists, they had to become trip-men between the Red River and Hudson's Bay, so that at the above period we may truly say that the Governor, two or three clerks, and a few laboring men represented the colony. During the summer of 1813 peace, if not good will, prevailed in Red River. Early in the following winter the progress of the American arms along the Canadian lakes had become known on the Red River. The North-West partners seen the probability that all supplies from Canada might be cut off by the enemy, and trembled at the prospect of the destruction of their trade throughout the whole country, and Mr. Miles McDonell did not fail to see that the critical moment had arrived for commencing operations against the Canadian traders in pursuance, as will hereafter be shown, of the general instructions of Lord Selkirk. The opportunity was eagerly taken advantage of by the Governor. This principal establishment was so placed as to enable him to intercept the communication by which canoes with provisions might be sent to meet the people employed in the remote stations in Lake Winnipeg, on their route to and from the principal depot on Lake Superior; and if the intercourse with Canada should be intercepted, not only the canoe men from the

northern posts but those from the nearest districts would be obliged to fall back on the Red River department for subsistence. At this moment of eminent danger to their concerns, a general system of aggresssion and violence against their property was begun by Mr. Miles McDonell under pretense that all the provisions collected in the country were required for the maintenance of the colonists, who, at this time, be it observed, did not exceed twenty-five or thirty persons. Parties of colony servants were sent to intercept convoys of traders on their way to the posts. Their boats and canoes navigating the rivers were fired at from the Fort and from batteries erected on the banks, brought to and rigorously searched, and wherever provisions of any description could be found they were plundered without hesitation. When it became necessary in consequence of these outrages to conceal the property, warrants were issued to apprehend the North-West Company's servants on the most frivolous and vexatious pretences, but the object of all the examinations, when brought before the Governor in his magisterial capacity, was to discover the deposits where provisions were removed to or concealed. Great pains were taken to impress on the minds of the servants and Indians that the ruin of the North-West Company was at hand, that it was equally dangerous and useless to resist such coersive measures as the Governor had it in his power to apply—to drive them entirely from the country. The partner of the North-West Company, in charge of the Red River department was placed by Mr. McDonell's conduct in the most distressing situation. Being aware of the necessity of providing against a danger which threatened the entire ruin of their trade, he made every exertion to protect the property under his charge. The means of precaution and defence he resorted to soon produced the following proclamation from the Governor of Assinniboia:

After defining the limits of His Lordship's grant, the proclamation was as follows:—

And whereas the welfare of the families at present forming the settlement on the Red River within the said territory, with those on their way to it, passing the winter at York or Churchil Fort, on Hudson's Bay, as also those who are expected to arrive next autumn, renders it a necessary and indispensable part of my duty to provide for their support. In the yet uncultivated state of the country, the ordinary resources derived from the buffalo and other wild animals hunted within the terri-

tory are not more than adequate for the requisite supply ; wherefore, it is hereby ordered that no person trading in furs or provisions within the territory for the Hudson's Bay Company, North-West Company, or any unconnected individual, person or traders whatever, shall take out provisions, either of flesh, dried meat, grain or vegetables procured or raised within the said territory by water or land carriage for one twelve months from the date hereof, save and except what may be judged necessary for the trading parties at this present time within the territory to carry them to their respective destinations, and who may, on due application to me, obtain a license for the same. The provisions, procured and raised as above, shall be taken for the use of the colony ; and, that no loss may accrue to parties concerned they will be paid for by British bills at the customary rates. And be it hereby further made known, that whoever shall be detected in attempting to carry out, or shall aid or assist in carrying out, or attempt to carry out, any provisions prohibited as above, either by land or by water carriage, shall be taken into custody and prosecuted as the law in such cases directs, and the provisions so taken, as well as any goods or chattels of what nature so ever, which may be taken along with them, and also the craft, carriage and cattle instrumental in conveying away the same to any part but the settlement on Red River, shall be forfeited.

Given under my hand at Fort Daer, 8th day of January, 1814.

(Signed,) MILES MCDONELL, Governor.
JOHN SPENCER, Secretary.

This proclamation indicated very plainly to the Canadian traders what they might expect, and their apprehensions of troubles and dangers were by no means lessened by a knowledge of the fact, that His Lordship's Governor, who was a military man, was regularly training the men under his command to the use of fire-arms and artillery, and, will it be believed, that these were supplied to Lord Selkirk on the pretence urged by him that it was necessary for the defence of the colony against the Americans, whose nearest settlements, at that time, were two thousand miles from Red River. And is it not equally singular, that His Lordship should be careful to provide against imaginary dangers, and overlook the necessity of providing the colonists with agricultural implements, or even with iron to supply these indispensible requisites to a community of husbandmen ? Governor McDonell had also, at this time, succeeded in impressing the minds of the natives with the belief that he acted on a direct and not on assumed authority from His Majesty's Government, and being appointed, at the desire of Lord Selkirk, a magistrate for the Indian territories, he made no scruple of applying according to discretion and to existing circumstances, the authority best suited to the vexatious and oppressive system he

had been directed to enforce. We will not attempt giving a detailed account of Mr. McDonell's various acts of aggression this winter on the property and servants of the North-West Company, as doing so would be equally tedious and unnecessary ; however, we shall give two instances out of many. The first took place near Turtle River, in Dacotah territory, and this experiment was made by a party of fifteen or sixteen men sent from Pembina by His Excellency, under John Warren's command, with instructions to proceed to where some Freemen were tenting on the plains. The second or third night they passed at the Freemen's tents. Here they found one Michael McDonell, a clerk in the Hudson Bay Company's service, and Jean Baptiste Demarrais, and two or three North-West Company's servants. Next morning the servants of the North-West Company received a quantity of provisions consisting of meat and fat (tallow) from the Freemen, with which they proceeded towards their Fort at Turtle River. Mr. Warren and Mr. Michael McDonell ordered the Hudson's Bay men to form rank and file, to load their muskets with powder and ball, to screw on their bayonets and to put themselves in array to compel Demarrais and party to surrender the provisions, which he prudently did and without any loss of honour, as they were outnumbered three to one, the Hudson's Bay men had, as they wished, gained an easy victory, and, by the laws of war, carried off the spoils. The success of this adventure emboldened Governor McDonell to engage his men in several similar foraging excursions, in every one of which they proved successful, thereby contributing to their own comfort and advantage, and at the same time greatly distresssing and deranging their opponents affairs. But the great and notable transaction of the spring of 1814 was the breaching of the defences by which the North-West Company's Fort at the mouth of the little Sourie River was defended, and the seizure of all the provisions in the Fort, which led to Mr. McDonell's and his sheriff's apprehension the following winter, to take their trial in Lower Canada under the provisions of the Act of the 43rd of the King, which Act he was appointed magistrate to enforce. It is essential to state this, that the proceedings, subsequently adopted with respect to this transaction, may be understood. Under the circumstances before mentioned,

the North-West partner had accumulated a supply of provisions at one of their posts on a river called Riviere la Sourie, upon which the subsistence of their people principally depended. The Governor had long directed his attention to this depot, and within a few days after the date of his proclamation, under the pretext that it had been disobeyed, he sent a person named John Spencer, whom he called or appointed sheriff for Lord Selkirk's territory, to seize the Fort. Spencer finding resistance made by the persons in charge, and seeing that there might be difficulty in executing his orders, and having probably some scruple about enforcing them without more particular instructions, returned and reported these circumstances to his employers. Mr. McDonell immediately issued his warrant in a legal form for the seizure of the provisions (in which his authority as Governor or magistrate was not mentioned, nor was it material) which he delivered to the sheriff, and reinforcing his former party with an additional number of armed men, directed him, according to the expression in his warrant, to break open posts, locks and doors which might impede his proceeding. The party in charge of the post, Mr. Pritchard, being intimidated by the formidable appearance of the assailants, made no further resistance than retiring within the stockades and shutting the gate of the Fort. Spencer, in execution of the warrant, directed his men to cut down the pickets with their axes, and breaking into the store, plundered it of all the provisions it contained, consisting of 500 bags of pemican, 96 kegs of grease, and about 100 bales of dried meat, weighing about 85 lbs. each, which were taken across the river and deposited in the Hudson Bay Company's stores, except two batteaux loads that Mr. Spencer took down to Fort Douglas as unmistakable tokens of his success. In the first week of June the North-West traders, who had wintered at the different posts in the district, met at headquarters where they were accustomed to receive their supply of provisions to carry them to Fort William; but this year their stores were empty. What was to be done under these circumstances so unusual and so trying? How could provisions be procured to feed so many men on their long voyage to headquarters? The North-West partners, in charge of the district, and their men, knew that the Hudson's Bay men alongside of them had great quantities of

pemican, some of it the property of the North-West Company taken from them by force of arms during the preceding winter and spring. Here were met a great many North-West Company servants, and they were accompanied by numerous bands of Indians from the different outposts. No doubt they were in every respect more than a match for Governor McDonell and his followers, and being so, might we not expect, and with some reason, that the members of the fraternity which has, unfortunately, been represented as capable of committing the foulest crimes to forward its interest, I say might we not expect that they would, if not retaliate to the full, at least assail the Hudson's Bay Fort, and retake their own provisions; for we have shown above that they possessed ample power to enable them to do so? However, these gentlemen adopted a very different course, and to obtain a part of the provisions taken from them the previous winter, they entered into an arrangement with Governor McDonell, in which he agreed to condescend so far as to let them have a limited supply for their voyage, on their promising to return to his Excellency an equal quantity as soon as they would be in a position to do so. Thus enabled to proceed on their journey, they arrived with their returns at Fort William. Here they were met by their partners from Montreal, and by those from all other parts of the interior, and every account concurred in stating that a violent system had been adopted by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company throughout the country. These accounts from all parts of the Indian country were fully confirmed by a letter written by His Lordship to one of his agents on the confines of Athabaska, which fell into the hands of some one of the North-West partners, and showed clearly his determination to insist on forcibly ejecting the Canadians from what the Hudson's Bay Company assumed to be their territory and exclusive property. This letter contains the following directions, which are best given in his own words:—

You must give them (the Canadians) solemn warning that the land belongs to the Hudson's Bay Company, and that they must remove from it; after this warning they should not be allowed to cut any timber either for building or fuel. What they have cut ought to be openly and forcibly seized, and their buildings destroyed. In like manner they should be warned not to fish in your waters, and if they put down nets seize them as you would in England those of a poacher. We are so fully advised by the unimpeachable validity of the rights of property that there can be

no scruple in enforcing them wherever you have the physical means. If they make forcible resistance they are acting illegally and are responsible for the consequences of what they do, while you are safe, so long as you take only the reasonable and necessary means of enforcing that which is right."

Instructions of the same nature as the above had been disseminated over the whole of what the Hudson's Bay Company thought proper to call their territory. And if the Hudson's Bay Company had the physical means to enable them to carry out the above instructions, what would then be the condition of the Canadian traders the reader may form some faint idea, when we tell him that the poor people, inhabiting that inhospitable region, were dependent almost entirely on fish for their subsistence during winter, and the cold so intense as frequently to freeze mercury in open air. Spirit thermometers were generally used graduated to 60 ° below zero of Fahrenheit.

His Lordship was well aware of the severity of the climate and the impossibility of subsisting in it without fuel and fish, when he issued the above considerate and humane commands. And if the Canadians, on being warned off, but unable to return to Fort William, were to surrender to those who represented His Lordship, would they be in a condition to supply with food, any addition to the number of men required at each of their own posts? The best answer to the above question, is that about the time of which we are writing, Indians and white men, year after, perished from want of food. And we give the following as an instance:—In the winter of 1815 and 1816, no fewer than eighteen or twenty Hudson Bay Company's men perished from the united effects of cold and hunger, in the Athabaska district. With the above information before them, and aware from past experience that Mr. McDonell's boasting and successful depredations had already produced a considerable effect on the minds of the Indians and on the minds of their own servants on whose steady adherence and devotion to their cause, the prosperity of their trade and general success depended, the North-West Company at this critical juncture in their affairs, came to the determination of resisting to the utmost of their power, the further violence of their opponents and, if possible, to make an example of

Governor McDonell and of his sheriff, Mr. Spencer, by procuring their arrest and trial at Montreal, for the offences they had committed in the spring of the year.

Mr. Duncan Cameron, one of their partners, a man of determined resolution, but irritable temper, was entrusted with these measures of self-defence, and the management of the Red River district. Mr. Cameron had been provided before he left Fort William with warrants against Messrs. McDonell and Spencer, granted under the authority of the 43rd of King, upon the information of persons who had been eye witnesses to their proceedings. No sooner had the North-Westers arrived at their wintering ground than disputes arose, as might have been expected, between parties. These frivolous and vexatious disputes served only to widen and deepen the breach which previous acts of aggression had made between the rival companies. And, as if Mr. McDonell intended to make that breach incurable, he served the following notice, in a legal form, upon Mr. Cameron, which left no hope of any good understanding being established between them.

DISTRICT OF ASSINIBOIA.

To Mr. Duncan Cameron, acting for the North-West Company, at the forks of the Red River.

Take notice that by the authority and on the behalf of your land-lord, the right honorable Thomas Earl of Selkirk, I do hereby warn you, and all your associates of the North-West Company, to quit the post and premises you now occupy at the Fort of the Red River within six calendar months from the date hereof.

Given under my hand at Red River Settlement, this twenty-first day of October, 1814.

(Signed.) MILES MCDONELL.

This notice was followed by a correspondence relative to the arrangement made by Mr. Cameron's predecessor, in the spring, for the exchange of provisions. A great deal has been said, and published, against Mr. Cameron, who possibly assumed more consequence in his situation than was intended, with a view to counteract the effect upon the Indians of his adversary's misrepresentations; but, from what we have been able to learn of their correspondence, it seems to have been conducted on both sides with more irritability and attention to party feeling, than to temper and descretion. Similar notices to quit the Hudson's Bay Company and Lord Selkirk's territory were published throughout the country,

one of which we shall insert as it is well calculated to give the reader some idea of the moving spirit which was at work and throwing everything into confusion throughout the land.

By order of William Hillier, Esquire, Justice of the Peace.

If after this notice your building is continued I shall be under the necessity of razing them to the ground.

(Signe l) A. KENNEDY.

Mr. McDonell's conduct became more outrageous than ever, not only towards his opponents, but also towards the helpless settlers under his protection. Many of the latter wearied and disgusted with the country, on account of the trials and bereavements of the last year, which feelings were increased and imbittered by a keen sense of the harsh and unjust manner in which they had been treated at Churchil, and on their inland voyage, heartily wished themselves away from Red River and under the influence of more favourable surroundings. To those recollections of the past were added the sufferings and miseries of the past winter, on the plains among the savages and barbarous Freemen. All of which, put together, rendered them everything but satisfied with their present condition, nor did the prospect before them indicate anything to cheer up their careworn and desponding spirits.

We have observed above that the Governor's first official act was to enroll the new comers among the Company's servants, and to put arms into their hands to fight His Lordship's battles for the destruction of his commercial rivals; and for the establishment of a cruel and despotic monopoly in the great north-west territories. Let us enquire against whom, were they called upon to fight? In some cases against near relations; in most cases against men speaking the same language with themselves; and in every case, against their country-men and fellow subjects. Can we then feel surprised when we are informed that the colonists had become extremely dissatisfied with the experiment they had made? When they thought on the past, Churchil with all the misery they suffered there, rose before their minds. And when they endeavored to look forward into the future, they could see nothing but endless troubles and privations before them. They were fully convinced that it would be impossible for them to succeed in their agricul-

tural efforts, or to remain with any prospect of safety in the country, while the Hudson's Bay Company assumed the right of seizing the persons of the North-West Company's servants and of confiscating their property, and had enforced these assumed rights whenever their physical means enabled them to do so. They knew also that the North-West Company had decided to protect their servants and their property against all aggressors, by opposing force to force. They justly inferred that all law and order would, in a short time, be set at defiance and equally disregarded by the contending parties, and that, whichever of the two might come off victorious, they saw clearly they would be forced to take part in the quarrel in which they might lose some valuable lives, and were sure of being unable to proceed with the object for which they came to Red River.

During the winter and spring the settlers had often to apply to the North-West people for the means of saving their families from starvation, Mr. Cameron commiserated his unfortunate countrymen and did all in his power to relieve their wants, and we may believe that he and those of the settlers who were capable of reflecting, would have talked over the present sad condition and of the dark prospect before them, and it might have been on one of these occasions the idea of leaving Red River, if possible, for Canada originated. However that may have been, Governor McDonell did not approve of the intimacy that was growing daily between those whom he called his people and those who were his employers opponents in trade. As the spring advanced, the intercourse between the leading men among the settlers and Fort Gibraltar became more frequent; from which conduct on their part, the Governor came to the conclusion that all was not right, and perhaps, the hitherto latent idea might have come to his knowledge, if so, he would see at once that the defection of the colonists, of which, as we shall see hereafter, they had already shown some symptoms, would frustrate all his cherished projects for driving the Canadian traders, not only from the Red River, but out of all the Indian territories. His Excellency's disappointment at this apparent defection was great, but his displeasure was still greater, which he exhibited in refusing provisions for the maintenance of those whom he suspect-

ed of being discontented, and if there be any truth in what has been said and written at the time, he put the most obnoxious in prison, some of whom he put in irons. This harsh and high-handed treatment of men who had, or ought to have the rights of British subjects, we must confess, was not the most likely to sooth their distressed, irritated and troubled spirits, but was, on the contrary, well adapted to produce a very different effect. And that it did soon produce that effect was manifest, for those who had hitherto been undecided as to their future movements, adopted the opinions and followed the example of their more resolute and determined associates, and, with very few exceptions, decided on leaving the country, if they could procure the means to enable them to do so; and, as a preliminary step in self-protection, they took possession of the field pieces that were either in the bastions or in the colony stores. These they committed for safe-keeping to Mr. Cameron's care on the 3rd of April, 1815.

Here we must leave them for a time and turn our attention to other events that transpired during the autumn and winter of 1814. Early in the winter Mr. Spencer was arrested on a warrant against him, and sent down to Lac la Plui. An attempt to rescue him failed, the settlers refusing to use their fire-arms against the Canadians. An opportunity was afterwards taken of serving Mr. McDonell with the warrant against him, to which submission, outwardly, he treated the warrant with great contempt, but in the meantime was busily preparing for measures of defence, if they should be necessary. He posted up notices that his patron would grant pensions to all persons maimed and wounded in his service, according to their rank, (for he had made several appointments from the step of captain to that of ensign) and threatened the North-West with instant hostilities, taking every opportunity of seizing their people as prisoners when they were found in a defenseless situation. We have stated above that Mr. McDonell had told the Indians that they must take their hunts to him, as they could hunt on these lands only by his permission. It is likely that some attempt, to enforce the above declaration, led to the misundering which took place between Governor McDonell and the free Canadians, half-breeds and Indians. These wandering people were

as free as the winds that swept over their extensive plains; they were altogether unaccustomed to the commands of a superior and could not brook the treatment they received from His Excellency. The consequences were innumerable. Scuffles and petty affrays between the parties, which the former asserted, began by a party of Hudson's Bay men firing on one of theirs proceeding peaceably along a road with some provisions. Who were the aggressors is hard to say at this distance of time, but we have never heard of any lives having been lost in any of these foolish affairs. Except in one which took place at the colony Fort. This affair is stated by some of the Earl of Selkirk's partisans, to have been brought on by the North-West Company people, (Bois Brule), viz.: *They marched from the North-West Company's post and stationed themselves in a wood adjoining the Governor's house, which was the principal building in the settlement; they began their operations by firing a shot at Dr. White, the surgeon, who was walking near the house, but, fortunately it missed him. Another shot was fired at the same time, at Mr. Bourke, the store-keeper, and the ball passed close by him. A general firing then took place from the woods, which was returned by those in the house, four of whom were wounded, and one of them (Mr. Warren) died of his wounds. After the North-West party had kept up their fire for some time, they returned with Mr. Cameron who, shortly after they left the forks, had followed them armed, and who, on their return, congratulated them with much satisfaction, upon the result of their exploit, and on their personal safety; a circumstance not very surprising considering that, during the attack, they were concealed in a wood, not one of them being visible to those on whom they were firing. After this cowardly and unprovoked attack, it would have been absurd in the remaining officers and settlers of the colony to have supposed that they would be permitted to remain in security. It was given out by Mr. Cameron that he was resolved to have Mr. McDonell dead or alive; but that, if he would surrender himself quietly, or if the settlers would give him up, all further hostility should cease. At length Mr. McDonell, at the persuasion

*The attack took place on the 11th of June, 1815.

of the other officers of the settlement, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, and in the hope of securing the remaining settlers from further violence, surrendered himself to the warrant; and was soon afterwards carried down to Montreal (about 2,500 miles) to be tried; but no trial took place.

So much for His Lordship's statement. Fortunately, for the cause of truth, in this case, we have other information than that of the interested partisans of either Company. We have the evidence of living and reliable witnesses, who were present when the above occurrences took place; who all agree in stating that the French half-breeds, under Cuthbert Grant, took possession of a grove of trees near the colony Fort, where the Governor resided. Being under the shelter of the bushes, they opened fire on the Fort, and most likely, as related above, the Fort men manned their bastions, of which there were four, one on each angle. These bastions were armed with small wall pieces and blunderbusses, which were always kept loaded, ready for any emergency. As Mr. Warren was in the act of firing one of them the piece unfortunately burst, slightly wounding two or three of the men who were in the bastion, but dealing a mortal wound to poor Mr. Warren, who died from its effects, as he was on his way from Red River to Norway House.

We have stated above that Mr. McDonell and his sheriff had been apprehended and carried to Canada to take their trial at Montreal for the robbery committed at Brandon House, in June, 1814. Mr. Spencer was duly arraigned before the courts of Lower Canada on the charge on which he had been apprehended, and in justification of his arrest, a true bill was found by the grand jury against him for grand larceny. A plea as to the proceedings was put in on behalf of the prisoner, alleging that the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company authorized the seizure, in virtue of his office. Time was given by the Court to procure evidence and the opinions of legal authorities in England, with respect to the validity of that plea. Mr. McDonell had been detained on the route to Montreal, and did not arrive in time to be placed on his trial at the session of the court. The defendants were admitted on bail, and, it appearing clearly from opinions subsequently taken in London, that, as they might have acted under a misapprehension

of authority, there would be a failure in proving against them the felonious intent. The prosecution was dropped and there was no jurisdiction vested by the 43rd of King George the III, under which trials could take place in the courts of Lower Canada in actions for damages in civil cases.

All hope, therefore, of bringing the question to issue in Canada, being at an end, the Canadian merchants again addressed the most urgent application on the subject to His Majesty's Government. After Mr. McDonell had surrendered the colonists became more earnest in their entreaties for assistance to enable them to proceed to Canada. The greater part of those who had hitherto remained at or about the colony Fort took the opportunity now offered by the captivity of their leader, to present themselves at the North-West Fort and join their companions in pressing their entreaties for a passage to Canada. And upon a distinct understanding that nothing would be given beyond their transportation and provisions as far as York (now Toronto), the seat of government in Upper Canada, about fifty families, comprising above one hundred persons, were embarked in North-West Company's canoes and safely landed at their destination. Here their sufferings found relief in the protection and assistance of the government and public commiseration was drawn to their case, by the zealous interference, in their behalf, and benevolence of the Rev. Dr. Strachan, who shortly afterwards published a statement, from their own evidence, of their case, and the delusions practised upon them, in order to warn the poorer classes of his countrymen against becoming, like these unfortunate people, the dupes of land-jobbing speculators, a class of persons well known in America, and of whom Lord Selkirk, from the magnitude of his operations, may be styled the chief. The settlers thus disposed of were nearly the whole of those who had wintered at Churchil, including some of those who arrived in the settlement in 1812. A few of them took employment in the Hudson Bay Company's service, a few went to Jack River, and three, the residue of the emigrants of 1813, went as far as York Factory with the intention of returning to their native land, but met a number of their former neighbors at that place, who had just landed from the ship, and returned with them to Red River.

Here we beg to add Dr. Strachan's preface:—

As soon as I heard that the Earl of Selkirk was commencing a settlement on the Red River I determined to warn the public of the deception and of the great misery which emigrants must experience in such a distant and inhospitable region. But it was difficult to procure the necessary information, and, before it could be obtained, the progress of the American war called my attention to distress nearer home. It was not till last June that I was able to see a copy of the prospectus, a paper neatly drawn up, but, alas, destitute of truth. To those who are amazed after reading my remarks, at the promises and assertions which it contains, I am justified in saying that promises still more extravagant were made by the Earl of Selkirk himself at Stromness, in June, 1813, to persons whom he was enticing to go out. Few of these wretched men had any agreement, an omission I hope not wilfully made to prevent legal redress, for surely punishment ought to be inflicted on speculators who persuade families under false pretences to leave their native land. Of the settlers who went to the Red River many died at Churchil, in Hudson's Bay, from fever, the severity of the climate and the quality of their food. Others seriously injured their health, and not one of those who have escaped saw a joyful day from the time they left Scotland till they began their journey to Canada. The following letter may prevent more from encountering the miseries of the polar regions; and this is all that I can do, or able to affect. But retributive justice is due, and I flatter myself that, among the great examples of disinterested benevolence so common in Great Britain, one may be found, sufficiently prompted to compel Lord Selkirk and his brother proprietors to make ample restitution to the survivors, for the money and effects lost at Churchil and for the miseries they have endured.

York, Upper Canada, October 5th, 1815.

We have stated above that the colony Governor had been taken to Canada to be tried for felony. The people were dispersed. The arduous labours of years, with a great outlay in money, were destroyed in a few short months, and the colony, to all human appearance, destroyed forever. In recording the transactions of the memorable spring and summer of 1815, we must for a moment take notice of a deplorable encounter which took place at Isle a la Cross between the servants of the rival companies in which two valuable lives were destroyed, a brief sketch of which we shall give in the chapter following.

CHAPTER IV.

A Skirmish in which Two are Killed—A Wake without Whiskey—Petty Annoyances—Lord Selkirk in Montreal—The Fur Trade—Destitution among Hudson's Bay Men—From Scotland to Red River—A New Governor—Administration of Justice—A Surprise—Doings at Pembina—A Conflict—Mr. Keveny in Trouble—Murdered—The Earl's Soldiers for the North-West.

This quarrel, which ended so fatally, originated about a steel trap. The Hudson Bay Company's servants were setting traps along the lake for foxes and the North-Westers were doing the same. Each party occupied different localities along the shore and separate islands. The North-West partner in charge of the district, finding himself at the head of a greater number of men than his opponent, built a small house close to the Hudson Bay Company's house, for a fort it could not be called, where a number of men were stationed for the express purpose of watching the movements of their rivals in trade. One of the Hudson Bay Company's men, on visiting his traps, according to custom, found that one of them had been taken away. He at once came to the conclusion that the missing trap had been stolen and that the theft had been committed by some one of the North-west people. He immediately returned to the Hudson Bay Company's house, made known his loss, roused the sympathy of a strong and valiant son of the Emerald Isle, who volunteered to accompany him to hunt for the traps which they knew had been set in different places in the vicinity by the North-West Company's servants, with the laudable intention of appealing to the law for retaliation. Our two heroes hunted around some points and bays of the lake, but found no trap. However, their movements were not unobserved by their neighbors, the North-West men. Mr. Samuel Black, a clerk in the North-West Company's service, who commanded the men in the "look-out house," took a few men with him and went out to the lake to meet the hunters. A few of the Hudson's Bay men, under

the command of Mr. Johnston, followed after. The parties met on the ice and a short parley took place between Mr. Johnston and Mr. Black; after which all returned to their respective houses, except the trap hunters, who extended their search to what was called the "big island," which was at some distance from where the above meeting took place. They did not go far nor search long before they found a trap that had been set by Mr. Black and with which they were returning in triumph. Mr. Black, ever vigilant, saw them returning, left the house at the head of a large party of his men and met the two Hudson's Bay men and stopped their progress homeward. The two brave young men kept possession of the trap until Mr. Johnston, with a party of Hudson's Bay men, came up to them. Mr. Johnston addressed himself to Mr. Black, saying, "It is much better that you and I settle this affair and let the men be quiet." Scarcely had these brief words been uttered before a savage and reckless Canadian half Indian, brother-in-law to Mr. Black, levelled his piece at Mr. Johnston's ear, fired and blew out his brains. A few moments passed before either party could realize the horrid spectacle that lay before them; but, after a short pause, the demon of destruction took possession of these fierce and fiery spirits, a general discharge of fire arms took place, the contending parties rushing on each other with the most determined fury. The firing was kept up and strokes were dealt on every side; but, fortunately for them, the dark shades of night were silently but swiftly stealing down on the scene of these barbarous murders and unnatural strife, rendering aim uncertain, and causing many deadly angry bullets to spend their force in the air. While this tragedy was being acted Mr. Black stood with folded arms imploring the infuriated combatants to cease fighting; but he might as well have entreated the stormy and boisterous winds of the north, when in their most angry and turbulent mood, to be still. However, by degrees the North-West men began to weary at their work, and to acknowledge their defeat by retiring from the long contested field, of which their opponents kept possession; and, according to the rules of war, "to the victors belong the spoils," which consisted of the broken stocks and locks of a few trading guns.

Each party had to attend to the duty of burying its dead, and unhappily each side had to deplore the death of one of its number, Mr. Johnston on the Hudson Bay Company's side and a Canadian laborer on the part of the North-West Company. We have never been able to ascertain whether the Canadian was slain by bullet or by blow; but, considering the length of time they fought and the fury with which they carried on the fight, it is remarkable that one life only had been destroyed in the melee, and may be attributed, in some degree, to the darkness in which they were enveloped. A few fresh men were sent out from the Hudson's Bay house to bring in Mr. Johnston's remains, and the sons of the Emerald Isle and their warm hearted friends from "the land of many hills" honored his memory with as decent "a wake" as circumstances would admit. But sad were their complaints of the stinted measure with which drink was dealt out to them, and beyond measure did they deplore the entire absence of their favorite beverage, whiskey; for, without the aid of its soul-stirring influences they were convinced of their utter inability to perform their friend's obsequies in a becoming manner. The gentleman, who was then in charge for the Hudson's Bay Company, was a man who delighted not in strife and bloodshed. He saw that the men who returned from the fight were highly excited, and feared, and that justly, that if their excitement would be increased by drink, they might become ungovernable and perpetrate some rash deed, for which on the return of reason they might feel both sorry and ashamed. From these considerations he resolutely refused drink, except a very small quantity—and ammunition and arms altogether. It will appear extraordinary and unaccountable to men who are unacquainted with the fierce spirit worked by numerous acts of aggression on the one part and resistance on the other, that the representatives of two wealthy associations formed of christain men, members of one of the most humane nations in Europe, should go to such fearful extremity; and, that for an article not exceeding twenty shillings in value. But those who know what took place at Isle a la Cross, during the preceding four or five years, are not ignorant of the causes which operated on the Hudson's Bay men and compelled them to resist the very first

attempt made by the North-West men to annoy them, as they had annoyed their predecessors. Owing to the way in which the North-West Company paid their servants, they were able to employ great numbers. Isle a la Cross being a place of great importance, not only on account of the valuable trade made there, but also on account of its being situated half-way between Lac la Plui, to the south and the McKenzie river posts to the north, had generally from forty to fifty men stationed at it during the winter months; whereas their opponents never had more men at their posts in that department than they required to work their boats into the interior. During the last eight or ten years, they never had more than a dozen men, and the person in charge, to compete with their numerous opponents. The consequence was that the servants of the North-West Company, among whom Mr. Samuel Black and Mr. Peter Ogden acted a conspicuous part, when at leizure, amused themselves by annoying and insulting their neighbors, at times encouraging, if not commanding, their men to set their nets adrift, and at other times cutting them into pieces—not forgetting to pay occasional visits to the Hudson Bay Company's house, where their conduct was often highly improper and unjustifiable.

In the spring of 1814, Mr. Howse was appointed to take charge of the Hudson Bay Company's interests at Isle a la Cross. Several boats were fitted out for the expedition, and the crews were composed of Irishmen and Highlanders, with a few old hands from the Orkney Islands; the latter knew, from experience, how the North-West men had treated them in former years, and while enjoying the luxury of their evening pipes, before their blazing fires, related their unfortunate adventures, the recital of which roused the spirit of these acts to the highest pitch of indignation. All swore as one man by the souls of their grandfathers that they would not allow the opposition to play their villanous outrages and pranks on them with impunity. The lost trap and Mr. Johnston's cruel and barbarous murder afforded the above spirit of resistance an opportunity of developing itself, and the fight which we have endeavored to describe has been the deplorable result.

Having digressed from our professed subject and narrated the events which took place at Isle a la Cross during the winter of

1814-15, we shall now turn our attention to the Earl of Selkirk's simultaneous proceedings in Scotland and in Canada, as these proceedings, each in its way, have had considerable influence on the affairs of the country in general and on those of the colony in particular.

Since the time that Sir Alexander McKenzie discovered the regions drained by the streams whose united waters form that mighty river that bears its bold and energetic discoverer's name, the North-West Company enjoyed the exclusive trade of those districts, which then abounded, and even now abound, more in valuable furs than any other district in North America. The above named Company occupied several permanent stations beyond the Long Portage. From each of these stations parties were sent in every direction to occupy localities to which the surrounding natives would find easy access and where fish and game could be easily procured. Each of these parties were furnished with trading goods, to a small amount, which consisted of iron works, firearms, ammunition, tobacco and spirits, though last not the least prized by the poor ignorant children of the soil. When the different parties returned to head-quarters, with the proceeds of the winter's trade, their returns were commonly so great that they could not procure canoes and men to take the furs to Fort William, and were year after year under the necessity of leaving large quantities of valuable peltries in the interior. The wealth obtained from the trade carried on in those distant regions must have been very great indeed. His Lordship of Selkirk visited Montreal in the beginning of the present century and became acquainted with the magnates of the North-West Company, who vied with each other in pointing out to his Lordship, not only the great extent over which they carried on their business and the large profits realized from it, but even the mode on which they conducted it. Possessed of the above information, His Lordship, on his return to England, took steps to turn it to his own advantage. In the first place he bought up 40 out of the 100 shares into which the stock of the Hudson's Bay was divided, which enabled him to become not only the moving spirit in that body, but in fact its lord and master. The Hudson's Bay Company, before the present period,

1815, had made a few attempts, with long intervals between, to establish their trade beyond the Long Portage. A single canoe fitted out at York Factory made an excursion to Great Slave Lake, where they passed the winter and returned the following spring. Some years after another effort was made with a single canoe, manned by five men, to discover a water communication between the rivers sending their waters into Hudson's Bay, and those falling into Athabaska Lake. This passage was supposed to exist on the east side of Portage la Loche, which, if discovered, would supercede the necessity of carrying canoes and cargoes over that formidable barrier; but, unfortunately our discoverers were unsuccessful, and returned late in the autumn of the same year to Isle a la Cross, where they passed the winter. After the above expedition no attempt had been made by the English Company to extend their trade beyond the limits of the English river district until the winter of 1814 when His Lordship had succeeded in infusing some portion of his own energetic spirit into the Moreband Association of which he had become the head, for the purpose of carrying on the trade successfully in the country to the north and west of the Long Portage. It was considered necessary to have birch rind canoes, similar to those used by the North-West Company, and in order to obtain these and expert crews to work them His Lordship soon discovered that he would have to look for them in Lower Canada where numbers of canoe men, guides, interpreters and clerks, who had served the North-West Company for years in the interior, were to be found, many of them, lounging about without any regular employment, ready to engage in any new adventure that offered them pay and freedom from the restraints imposed by the laws of civilized society.

For the purpose of engaging men and purchasing canoes and provisions for the intended expedition to the Athabaska and to McKenzie's river, the Hudson's Bay Company, in the summer of 1814, despatched an agent (Mr. James Sutherlaud, who had returned the previous fall from Hudson's Bay,) to Canada for the purpose of employing agents in Montreal to transact business for his employers. He had the good fortune of meeting with Mr. Colin Robertson, who had, at least, served an apprenticeship in the North-West

Company's service, as one of their clerks, but, becoming discontented, he retired from the service the previous summer. He readily accepted Mr. Sutherland's proposals, and was certainly one of the best adapted men that could be found in the colony, to put his Lordship's plans into execution in person, Mr. Robertson was tall and stout, with a fearless disposition and a considerable degree of ostentatiousness in his appearance. His mind was well informed, and his disposition affable and kind; he spoke the French Canadian language fluently, and was in every respect well qualified to become a leader of these men. He succeeded in engaging a commercial firm in Montreal (Maitland, Gardener, Auldjo & Co.) to become agents for the Hudson's Bay Company. By their aid joined to his own indefatigable perseverance, he had the pleasure, before the first of May, of seeing himself at the head of a noble brigade of twenty-two canoes, manned and equipped with their full compliment of veteran voyageurs, interpreters, guides, sub-clerks, clerks, and a class commonly known by the title "Bourgeois." This brigade took its departure from Lachine in the beginning of May, 1815, and, passing through the usual canoe route, arrived in the latter end of June at Jack River, below Lake Winnipeg. Here they remained for some time, and were regaled according to North-West custom, each man being served with an allowance of rum, loaf bread, butter and pork. After this great feast they had to be contented with such rations as were served to the European servants who were at the place, which invariably consisted of fish. We may here observe, that the men of this expedition were engaged and paid on the same system, as the North-West acted upon, in dealing with their engaged servants. The goods for the expedition to the North had been freighted early in the season from York Factory to Jack River and were waiting the arrival of the brigades. In the beginning of July they left for the north under the command of several leaders, of whom, Mr. John Clarke was the chief. This gentleman was a native of Montreal and had been some years in the North-West Company's employment, in the fur trade; but from some cause or other returned to his native city in 1809 and in the following spring embarked in the Astor expedition which was then fitting out at New York for the purpose of estab-

lishing a trade in furs with the Indians on the Columbia river. He sailed round the Cape in the unfortunate *Tonquin* and arrived, after a tedious and dangerous voyage, in the mouth of the far famed river of the west, and lent his aid in building Astoria. He passed three years to the west of the mountains, where he had to endure such toils, privations and dangers, as seldom the bold and enduring fur trader on the east side of the mountains, even in those days of hardships and perils, had to encounter. Under its veteran leader the expedition passed on, without any accident, to Isle a la Cross, where a few canoes with their crews and cargoes were left to winter. The rest passed on to the north and arrived late in September at Athabaska Lake, which was to be considered, for the present, the head-quarters of the expedition. Having arrived at this central point, canoes were sent to lesser and greater Slave Lakes. A third brigade went up to Peace River under Mr. Clarke's immediate command. All these detachments arrived too late in the season at their appointed stations. The spawning season was over, the fish had left the shores for the deep parts of the lakes and could not be found.

The Indians had been supplied by the North-West traders and hurried off to their hunting grounds in the surrounding forests, and as none of them could be found by the Hudson's Bay people, who were desirous of engaging them to hunt provisions for their establishments, destitution stared them in the face. They had to endure great privations while occupied in erecting temporary habitations for the winter, and as that season advanced the fish taken became every day fewer; even the rabbits which had hitherto afforded some aid, were all killed. Every recourse thus failing the winter months were passed in a state of unmitigated misery from the want of food. Towards the spring a second attempt was made to find Indians, hoping, that if these people could be found, that they would obtain provisions from them, by employing them to hunt. Parties were sent off in every direction, but failed to meet with any of those on whom they depended so much for their subsistence. And, it is truly painful to record, that no fewer than eighteen men of these different parties, died from the combined effects of cold and hunger. We may safely believe that the North-West traders,

instructed the Indians to remove to a distance from where the Hudson's Bay men were likely to settle, and we have every reason to think, that these simple minded children of the forest, would implicitly obey the injunctions of men, who, by long intercourse and many kind words and some kind deeds, had gained their confidence. However, the North-West Company, in some cases, extended their charity to their famishing countrymen and preserved some of the survivors.

Here we must leave them for the present, and turn our attention to the noble Lord's transactions in Scotland. Early in the spring of 1813 he employed agents in Sutherlandshire to procure emigrants for the Red River. Clearances were still the order of the day, especially in the Parish of Kildonan. The only ray of hope that now remained was in emigrating from their native land and seek for new abodes beyond the Atlantic, in the forests or on the plains of North America. At this crisis in their affairs His Lordship's agents appeared in the place and began to direct their thoughts towards the wide and fertile plains of British North America, where they were led to believe all their cares, suffering and sorrows would terminate; where each and all of them might with the greatest facility become the proprietor or proprietors of fine estates at the low price of five shillings sterling per acre; the above prospect, we must admit, was highly encouraging. A number of families (consisting of seventy-two individuals) believed the promises made, and accepted the offer of transportation to the plains of the far west. The next step to be taken was to procure money to pay for their passage, which was to be ten guineas per head, and for such equipment as were absolutely necessary for their comfort on the voyage by sea, and on the long inland journey they would have to perform between the Bay and the Red River. The next step to be taken was the sale of their property, which they had to accomplish under great disadvantages, as had generally been the case when these clearances took place. Notwithstanding, many of them realized enough to pay for their passage and necessary outfits. A few had a balance over, which they deposited in His Lordship's hands for the payment of land from which they were separated over four thousand miles by inter-

vening seas and lands, which they would have to pass before they could take possession of that for which they had thus paid their money. A few persons were desirous of emigrating, who could not pay the passage money; yet, these were furnished a passage on condition of paying for it by labour on His Lordship's farm in the colony, or by working in the boats from Red River to the Bay and back again to the colony. These different steps consumed time, the spring was far advanced, the day of ejectment was at hand; the time was drawing near when they were to leave desolate their humble, but once happy homes, the time when they were to cast their last sad look on the land of their birth, whose every hill and valley (in their names) recorded the glorious deed of their heroic sires in the days of old; in their long and arduous, but successful, struggles against the fierce and warlike sea Kings of the north. The sad day, so long anticipated, had dawned when they were to leave forever their brown heaths, their deep glens, and lovely green straths with their sweet streams, where in their youth they loved to lave. It has been said, and said, I believe with truth, that no people in Europe can compare in deep heart-felt attachment to their native land with the Highlanders of Scotland. If this be the case it is easier to conceive than to express the distress and sorrow of their hearts at this important change in their condition. Yet they could discern a ray of hope through the dark and portentous clouds by which they were surrounded. They were habitually humble and devout students of their bibles. They remembered who said "Fear not little flock," and believed that he who decked the lillies of the field with their brilliant hues, and fed the fowls of the air, would provide for them and theirs. Animated by hope, founded on faith, they commenced the long and arduous journey which had to be performed before they could find a resting place. The first part of this journey was performed by land and on foot; some of their lighter stuff was carried on their backs, while the more ponderous articles were borne on the backs of such ponies as the kindness of their kindred and former friends could supply. Three days' travelling brought them to the ancient town of Thurso, whence they were ferried over the Pentland firth to Stromness. There they were embarked on board the *Hedlow*,

bound for Hudson's Bay. This ship was capacious and well arranged for passengers; adequate stores of provisions of the best quality were taken on board. Some of the Company's servants were embarked on the same ship with the settlers, while Robert Simple and Alexander McDonell, with a staff of clerks took their passage on board the *Prince of Wales.*

The fleet took its departure from Stromness on the 17th day of June, 1815; it consisted of four sail, viz:—the *Hedlow*, the *Prince of Wales*, the *Eddystone*, bound for James' Bay, and a sloop of war, to protect the merchantmen from the depredations of French privateers; for Napoleon I. had burst the chains that bound him to his insular Empire (Elba) invaded the ancient kingdom of France, drove the unfortunate Bourbon from his throne, reseated himself upon it and rekindled the flames of war from the mouth of the river Oby to Cape Finisterre. The passage was easy and pleasant, general good health prevailed on board the fleet and on the 18th day of August they came to anchor in what is known as "Five Fathom Hole," an open roadstead near the mouth of Hay's River and about five miles distant from the present Factory. A few days sufficed to land the passengers, and during their short stay at that place, some of the men in the Company's service were captivated by the charms of the fair and lovely maidens just landed from the ship. They were not long in wooing and winning the affections of the objects of their choice; and, before they took inland, three or four pair were made happy by being united in the holy bonds of matrimony. The matrimonial ceremonies were performed by Mr. James Sutherland, who, previous to his emigration, had been an elder in the Established Church of Scotland and had been duly licensed before his departure to marry, to baptize, to instruct and to perform the duties of teacher and spiritual guide to his fellow emigrants. Mr. Sutherland was an uneducated man, in the common acceptation of that phrase; but he is spoken of by those who knew him, as a man of sterling and unfeigned piety. And here I must state that Mr. Sutherland was the first licensed preacher of the reformed faith on the shores of the Hudson's Bay. After a brief sojourn at York Factory, which had been greatly to the satisfaction of the new comers, they were embarked on board

of some inland boats and commenced the long, difficult and dangerous voyage of 700 miles from York Factory to the Red River. The men had to perform the part of towing and rowing the boats and of carrying His Lordship's goods and stores over the carrying-places, and they had to do so without any compensation. The progress made was very slow, but the autumn proved very favourable, and the journey was accomplished, without any serious accident.

On the 3rd of November the boats entered the Red River and on the 5th arrived at Fort Douglas. Here we must mention an incident, which reflects great credit on Governor Semple for kindness to those who were under his care. The colonists had been for some time on very short rations and the night they entered the Red River the very last was finished for supper. The following morning the colonists were making no preparations for breakfast. He enquired what was the cause of this unusual state of inactivity, and, on being informed that the people had no food to prepare, he immediately ordered his servant to deliver to them the biscuit and cheese which he had taken so far with him for the use of his mess during the winter. Fortunately for these pilgrims the winter was late in setting in; had it been otherwise they would have been set fast in Lake Winnipeg, and would most likely have perished of cold and hunger. A kind providence decreed otherwise and, as we have stated above, they arrived at Fort Douglas on the 5th day of November, 1815, in good health and full of hope.

But here, though head quarters in the colony, no provisions had been made for the expected strangers, and all that they could obtain from His Lordship's stores was a small quantity of unground wheat and a few ounces of rancid grease, per day, for each family; but unsavory and scanty as this supply was it could not be continued for many days. His Lordship had engaged to provide food for the colonists for the first twelve months, but now, in the commencement of an Arctic winter, his stores were empty. The winter was fast approaching; the buffalo, on which they must depend for their subsistence, were only to be found on the great plains which extend from the Pembina Mountains to the Missouri. It was considered most advisable to send the settlers to Pembina,

which was seventy miles nearer to the hunting grounds than Fort Douglas; and to Pembina the immigrants must go. All those who were young and active, and as many company's servants, as could be spared from the Fort, were embarked in two boats and proceeded up the Red River for Fort Daer. The water was low, the days were short, and in consequence their progress was very slow. Notwithstanding, in the course of a few days they arrived at Scratching River and while passing the night there the sky became overcast and the wind blew strongly and keenly from the north. During the night there was a fall of snow and in the morning the river was covered over with ice. The boat voyage was at an end for the season. Starvation began to stare them in the face; their stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, and none could be obtained in their present position. Pembina, the nearest point where supplies could be expected, was distant thirty or forty miles. No beaten path pointed out the way, to the cheerless and foodless strangers, over the frozen waste that lay between them and where they might expect to find food and rest. Their way lay over the plains, which were covered with a heavy growth of untrodden grass—every blade of which was covered with snow and ice. However dreary and difficult the journey before them, stern necessity compelled them to enter upon it, and each one took a load of whatever was most valuable or most required of their individual property.

Fathers and mothers were, in many cases, unable to take or carry anything with them except their little ones, which they had, Indian fashion, to bind on their backs, and with these precious burdens, the gems of a future population, the Gipsey like crowd trudged along bearing the inclemency of the season and the pangs of hunger with as much equanimity as humanity could exercise under such trying circumstances. A few days, of severe and unusual toil, brought these pioneers of civilization to the celebrated Fort Daer, which was situated on the south side of the Pembina River. Dearth met them here, similar to that from which they fled on leaving Fort Douglas, but they drew some consolation from the fact that they were seventy miles nearer to the source whence they expected to draw their winter supplies of food. The

month of November was far spent when they arrived at what they fondly believed would be the end of their long and fatigueing journey. And in that belief they went to work with all their strength and energy to hew down timber and to build huts to shelter them from the inclemency of the winter, which had now set in in all its severity. These huts were of the most primative character, the walls and roofs were composed of round unhewn logs, the interstices filled up with clay served to keep out the wind; the floorings were such as nature provided—the bare earth. In these rude and humble dwellings our immigrants intended to pass the winter months; but the improvidence and bad management of those who were in charge of His Lordship's affairs in the colony soon began to be seriously felt by all who were dependent on his stores for subsistence.

We have said above that no provisions had been laid up for the maintenance of the expected settlers. The ground continued black and bare during the first two months of the winter, which prevented the use of sleighs, the ordinary vehicles for hauling in the winter season; and without these appliances no provisions, to any great extent, could be brought to the Fort. The result was that the sorely tried and distressed strangers had to leave Pembina and perform a journey of over one hundred and fifty miles over the plains, to where the Indians and others were hunting the buffalo. These unfortunate people had to perform the journey on foot, in the latter end of December, the most unfavorable time in the year for travelling; they were ill provided with suitable clothing to protect their persons from the icy gales that swept irresistibly over these bleak and treeless plains; in a word they suffered so much misery, that those of them, who lived after, could not relate the sufferings of that winter without a shudder. On their arrival at the hunting tents, Freemen, half-breeds, and Indians vied with each other in extending their kind offers to the new comers. Nevertheless, their condition was far from being enviable; they, in the ordinary course of things, became hewers of wood and drawers of water, the objects of these rude and savage people's pity and contempt. However, before the spring some of the strangers had learned how to approach the buffalo and became excellent hunters,

a fact which inclined their hosts to entertain far more favorable opinions of their pale-faced guests than they had on their first acquaintance.

Here we must leave them for a time and turn our attention to what had taken place on the lower Red River during the autumn and winter months. We have stated above that Robert Semple, on landing at York Factory, entered on the duties of his high office of Governor-in-Chief of the Northern Department. This gentleman was entrusted with powers far exceeding those conferred on any of his predecessors in office, as we see from a series of resolutions passed by the stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company on the 19th of May, 1815.

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE, May 19th, 1815.

At a general court, held this day, of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading in Hudson's Bay, for the purpose of taking into consideration an ordinance for the more effectual administration of justice in the Company's territories, pursuant to a notice of the same advertised in the *London Gazette*, on Saturday the 13th instant, the following resolutions were submitted to the proprietors and passed in the affirmative.

First—That there shall be appointed a Governor-in-Chief and Council, who shall have paramount authority over the whole of the Company's territories in Hudson's Bay.

Secondly—That the Governor, with any two of his Council, shall be competent to form a council for the administration of justice, and the exercise of the power vested in them by charter.

Thirdly—That the Governor of Assiniboia and the Governor of Moose, within their respective districts and with any two of their respective Councils, shall have the same power; but their power shall be suspended, while the Governor-in-Chief is actually present, for judicial purposes.

Fourthly—That a sheriff be appointed for each of the districts of Assiniboia and Moose, and one for the remainder of the Company's territory, for the execution of all such processes as shall be directed to them according to law.

Fifthly—That, in the case of death or absence of any councillor or sheriff, the Governor-in-Chief shall appoint a person to do the duty of the office till the pleasure of the Company be known.

Extracted from the Minute Book of the said Company.

ALEXANDER LANE, Secretary.

9th June, 1815.

By the adoption of the foregoing resolutions a system of administering justice was introduced into the country which could not fail being highly disagreeable to the Canadian traders.

Governor Semple has been represented as an amiable and cau-

tious man, and not desirous of increasing the unfriendly feeling that existed between the servants of the rival companies; and besides he had ample employment in arranging the affairs of the fur trade, and in providing sustenance for the settlers, in whose behalf he manifested the deepest interest, and for whom he did everything that kindness could suggest and that his high position enabled him to do. Soon after the new Governor's arrival in the colony his subordinates commenced a series of vexatious aggressions on the Canadian traders and looked with peculiar odium on Mr. Duncan Cameron. As this gentleman was one day quietly passing on the highway, unarmed and unattended, he was met by a party of armed Hudson's Bay men, headed by one of the Company's clerks, who, according to his own statement, drew his pistol, cocked it and levelled it at Mr. Cameron's head and then commenced to horse-whip him for some real or supposed insult which had been offered the preceding spring. After this castigation Mr. Cameron was seized by the party, carried before the Governor, and accused of having induced the settlers, the spring before, to go to Canada, a charge to which we believe Mr. Cameron would feel disposed, to some extent, to plead guilty. However, notwithstanding his well known hardihood, we have reason to believe he would not dare to incur the responsibility of furnishing a passage to upwards of one hundred and forty persons, from Red River to York, in Upper Canada, without the previously understood concurrence of his co-partner. These gentlemen must have made a great pecuniary sacrifice in providing so many people with provisions and the means of transport from Red River to Little York.

We must not overlook the fact that the settlers who went to Canada incurred heavy losses. All of them left their baggage at Churchil and was totally lost to them. Many of them had paid considerable sums for land from which they never derived any benefit; others deposited handsome sums in His Lordship's hands, every farthing of which was lost to them, partly owing to their own ignorance in money transactions, but chiefly from the dishonesty of the parties to whom, in their simplicity, they entrusted their property. These were subjects that must have forced themselves on their minds, and compelled them to make a choice. That

choice inclined them to leave Red River and accept the offer of a free passage to Canada. Mr. Cameron, although backed by the influence of the North-West Company, had no means of constraining them to leave the colony. Yet, the fact of their leaving the colony and Mr. Cameron's share in enabling them to do so, is now brought as a charge against him, and on that charge he is, without summons or warrant, taken prisoner on the highway and forced to go to Fort Douglas, where he was for some time detained prisoner. After the above kind treatment he was unconditionally released.*

After this adventure affairs went smoothly for some time, and each party prosecuted its interests without any unjustifiable opposition from its rivals. They stored up all the trade they could procure; but this peaceable state of affairs was too good to last long. In the beginning of March Mr. Semple left Fort Douglas for the purpose of inspecting the posts on the Assiniboine, on Swan River and on Lake Manitoba, leaving Mr. Colin Robertson to act as chief in his absence. Apparently Mr. Robertson did not relish a life of peace and inglorious ease. However, we may safely admit that the programme of what was to be done, in the spring, at the Red River, had been discussed in his presence, and most likely approved and even authorized by him. Soon after Governor Semple had left rumors got into circulation of some heavy pressure that was to be applied to the North-West Company's servants; yet nothing had occurred to enable them to form any idea of what their antagonists' plans were until the night of the 17th of March, 1816, when, between seven and eight o'clock, Mr. Robertson, at the head of an armed party of Hudson Bay Company's servants, attacked Fort Gibralter. The assailants rushed, with drawn swords, into Mr. Cameron's sitting room, where that gentleman, unsuspicious of danger, was passing the evening in conversation with his clerks. On entering the room Mr. Robertson collared Mr. Cameron. Captain McLean, Mr. Bourke and others seized his sword, pistols and other arms. The captured gentleman, as soon as he had recovered from his surprise, asked Mr. Robertson what he meant by his unexpected visit and extraordinary conduct. He replied "you will know that by and by." Mr. Cameron, his clerks and servants,

---

The statements say that Mr. Cameron promised better behaviour.

were for several hours kept in confinement, with a guard of armed men placed over them. The behaviour of some of the Hudson's Bay clerks was rude in the lowest degree, threatening to blow out the brains of one of the North-West Company's clerks who was their disarmed prisoner. After some time had been passed, and a great amount of entreaty had been used, Mr. McLean permitted Mr. Severight to go to Mr. Le Marr's room, who was also guarded by a sentinel, and there found Mr. Colin Robertson, and asked him if he meant to keep them all prisoners, to which the man in power replied that he would give an answer the next day. On the 19th the North-West Company's express, from Fort William, was captured and brought into the Fort. The two men who had charge of it were put in prison. The letters were seized by Mr. Robertson, who, by the powers conferred by the charter, opened and read all except three which were addressed to Mr. John Severight and were handed unopened to that gentleman. On the same day Mr. Cameron sent his clerk, Mr. Severight, to Mr. Robertson requesting the restoration of Fort Gibralter to its lawful owners and allow them to carry on the trade as formerly. To this message Mr. Robertson replied that it was the key of the Red River, being situated at the confluence of the two Rivers, and that he was determined to keep it at all hazards. After the Hudson Bay Company's servants had taken possession of the place, they removed all the arms, public and private, likewise the trading goods, provisions of every kind, furs, books and papers, to the Hudson's Bay Fort. In due time the furs were sent to York Factory. A squad of men with cannon and muskets were sent, on the 19th, from Fort Douglas to North-West Fort to guard Mr. Cameron and his men. Those kept watch and ward until their patience became exhausted, when they turned all the Canadians, except two, and Mr. Cameron, out of the Fort. The labouring men had to take to the plains or lakes to hunt for their countrymen, the Freemen, and throw themselves at their generosity for the preservation of their lives, during the spring months. Mr. John Severight made his way to Fort Qu'Appelle where Mr. Alexander McDonell was in command of the North-West post.

Here we must leave him for the present and turn our attention

to what had taken place at Pembina, where, as well as in every other part of the interior, each company had a few rude log huts dignified with the title Fort. The North-West Company's house stood on the north side of the Pembina River, at its junction with the Red River. The Hudson Bay Company's establishment was directly opposite to the former but on the south side of Pembina. These were the chief provision posts, whence the posts on the lower Red River received their supplies. The Canadian traders had but few persons to feed at this place and were enabled to lay up a great stock of provision procured by the chase, with large quantities of Indian corn and potatoes. Bostennois Pangman, a half-breed, was in charge of the place, and two clerks and six or seven tripmen constituted all his available forces. On the night of the 20th of March, three days after Fort Gibralter had been captured, Bostennois' house and all the little shanties in which his men lodged, were secretly surrounded and simultaneously assaulted. The master, clerks and men were made prisoners, taken to Fort Daer, lodged in close quarters for some days, and, were afterwards sent down in bond to Fort Douglas, where they underwent a rigorous confinement for the space of a week or two, and were at last turned out of the Fort. Mr. John Pritchard and Mr. Alexander McDonell were the master spirits in the above affair, and appropriated to their own use the spoils of those whom they had vanquished by their valor. These spoils consisted of arms, ammunition, trading goods, four or five packs of furs, great quantities of dried buffalo meat, Indian corn and potatoes; every thing, whether the produce of the chase or the fruit of the earth, was taken away by the victors. The poor Canadians were not only deprived of their hard gained accumulations, and driven from their comfortable homes but were, as stated above, carried prisoners to Fort Douglas, and finally, like their fellows taken in Fort Gibralter, had to seek for an asylum among their kind countrymen who were passing the spring among the buffalo on the plains. Mr. John Severight arrived safely at Qu'Appelle and acquainted Mr. McDonell with what had taken place on the Red River. That gentleman wrote immediately to Mr. Colin Robertson requesting him to surrender the North-West Company's Forts to their lawful owners

and leave them in the same condition in which he found them. This Mr. Robertson refused to do, and Mr. Severight had to retrace his steps to Qu'Appelle to tell Mr. McDonell that Mr. Robertson had refused compliance and that Mr. Cameron was still prisoner in his own house, attended by two of his own servants. The Hudson Bay mens' desire of glory was not satisfied with their past achievements and as little was their avarice satisfied with all the plunder which they had already obtained. In the beginning of April an attempt was made to take the North-West Company's house at Qu'Appelle, but McDonell was prepared to meet them and they had to retire without accomplishing their object. Hitherto we have seen the servants of the North-West Company submit to the attacks made on their property and even to the imprisonment of their persons, without any violent resistance, although they had been instructed by their council of the preceding summer to defend their property against all aggressors.

However, after the attempt on the Post at Qu' Appelle, Mr. McDonell, seriously impressed with the disorganised condition into which the North-West Company's business had been thrown by the destruction of their posts on the lower Red River, the plundering of their stores, the dispersion of their servants and the captivity of their leader, set his mind to work to provide such means as would enable him to evade or overcome the difficulties of his position. He knew that Governor Semple and his people were preparing for his interception. The colony Fort commanded the river. Its block houses were armed with a part of the field artillery brought from England in 1813, and were so near the water's edge, that, even armed with musketry, no craft could pass in safety without the permission of those who occupied it. These difficulties were neither overlooked nor despised by Mr. McDonell who immediately adopted and began to put in execution such plans as appeared to him to be best adapted for the protection of the persons and property under his charge, and for the purpose of enabling him to accomplish that object, he saw the necessity of having the number of his men increased. He sent messengers and letters to the North-West Company's agents on the Saskatchewan and on Swan River, and his appeal met with a favorable

response. A number of men were sent from the above districts and those sent were half-breeds (half-indians), the sons of French Canadian fathers by Indian mothers; the major part of whom were no doubt Freemen who roamed over the plains and through the forests, following the chase, with few if any exceptions, destitute of the most trifling rudiments of civilization, and as barbarous as their aboriginal relatives among whom they lived. Unfortunately such were the auxilaries which were sent from all quarters to Mr. McDonell's aid. Their first operation was the interception of four or five flat bottomed boats loaded with pemican, and having on board from thirty to forty packs of furs.

Mr. James Sutherland was in charge of the boats and property; they seized the whole, but restored one of the boats and a sufficient quantity of provisions to take Mr. Sutherland and his men to Fort Douglass, all of whom they allowed to go on except two, Mr. Pambrun and Mr. James Bird, junior, whom they kept prisoners. When Mr. Sutherland and his party arrived at Fort Douglas without the pemican, and told of the clouds that were gathering in the west, Mr. Robertson concluded that his best plan would be to leave the Red River and pass on to Hudson's Bay, which resolution he speedily put into execution; but, before he left Mr. Duncan Cameron was embarked in a light boat and sent off for York Factory. This gentleman had nothing to complain of at York Factory, and after some months detainment he was shipped for England, but before the ship reached the straits, the ice had become too solid for her to penetrate through it; and, being repulsed in her attempt, she had to put back to Charlton Island where she lay during the winter months, and when the ice on the bay had become sufficiently strong to travel on, the passengers went to Moose Factory, where Mr. Cameron, in common with the rest, remained until the following July, (1817), when they departed for England, where in due time, the ship with her passengers arrived safely. After Mr. Cameron had been taken, in bond, from the heart of the American continent to England and after seventeen months' imprisonment, he was set free without ever having been brought to trial, and, that, just because neither the one party nor the other was desirous of bringing its rival's illegal actions before

a court of Justice in England. The Hudson's Bay Company, no doubt, feared that their many acts of aggression against the rights of their opponents, would not be justified in a court of law. The North-West Company's agents, on the other hand, had no desire to test the validity of the charter before a competent tribunal; fearing,that if a legal decision would be given against it, swarms of trappers and traders would pour into the country against whom both companies would have to contend and increase the troubles that so distracted the minds of all who were, at the time, in the Indian country. Mr. Duncan Cameron, after a short stay in England, returned to Canada where he spent the remainder of his days in peace and quietness and died at a good old age. He had scarcely lost sight of Fort Gibralter before it was torn down by the Hudson Bay Company's men. All the serviceable timber was rafted down to Fort Douglas and used in new erections within the place; the refuse was consumed by fire and the mud chimnies were the only remaining vestiges to point out where once that far-famed Fort stood.

After this long degression we shall return to the colonists whom we left scattered over the Dacotah plains where they had to endure such privations as are generally the lot of those who depend for their subsistence on the chase. Fortunately for them, his Lordship had engaged to furnish them with provisions for some months after their arrival in the colony, but, notwithstanding every effort made to supply their wants, they had to fast one day and half starve the other. They likewise suffered severely from exposure to the inclemency of the season, very different from the mild winters which they had been accustomed to in their native land. Thus the winter of 1815 and 1816 was passed by those who may appropriately be handed down to posterity as "The Pilgrim fathers of the Red River Colony." As the spring advanced, the cold, a fertile source of the sufferings endured by the settlers, was daily diminishing; the snow began to disappear, wild fowl were plentiful in every pond and marsh, fish became abundant in the rivers, and every person who had thrift to hunt for food could obtain it. Influenced by this favorable change of circumstances, all who wintered on the plains turned their steps towards Pembina,

where they all met in April and remained until the navigation became free, when they descended by water to Fort Douglas. The Governor gave each family a lot of land, and a few Indian ponies were distributed among them, which, with the land were to be paid for at some future time, but neither ploughs nor harrows were to be had, nor iron with which to mount them could be had in the colony. The hoe was the only available implement, and a few only of these could be got, and with these feeble instruments they went to work with all their energy to subdue the earth; men and women commenced to labor, with right good will, on land for which they had paid their money. In a word they felt that they were no longer "tenants at will," but holders of free estate, laboring on their own land, from which no tyrannical landlords could remove them. These feelings strengthened their hearts and nerved their arms. Here there were neither stones nor trees to impede their progress; a boundless open plain lay before them inviting the husbandman to put in the plow; but, such had been the unaccountable improvidence, of those who were at the head of affairs in the colony, that they neglected altogether the importation of iron during the preceding season. The country afforded plenty of ash and oak suitable for plough-making, and there was no want of mechanical skill to construct these implements so important to an agricultural community, but the culpable indifference of His Lordship's clerks and men in office, rendered all the facilities offered by the country and the mechanical ingenuity of the settlers of no avail. These settlers, in their native land, had been rather keepers of cattle than tillers of the soil, and we may reasonably believe that they cherished the hope that before many years would pass they would, by some means, be able to supply what they felt to be their greatest want, namely, domestic cattle. We have stated above that in 1813 the North-West Company's people gave or sold some horn cattle to the Earl of Selkirk's servants in the colony, but they had disappeared in the strife of the two following years. The Canadian traders at the time of which we are writing had a considerable number of domestic cattle, and a grist wind-mill at Swan River.

We have already stated that the colonists made vigorous efforts

to sow grain and plant potatoes; seed wheat was scarce, but potatoes were more plentiful, and each family committed to the earth as much seed as they could obtain. They procured a tolerable supply of excellent fish, from the bountiful stream that flowed by their dwellings. Everything appeared propitious to their undertaking; fortune seemed to smile on all their efforts, the seed sown sprung up and promised to bestow a rich reward on their labors. Their weary and depressed spirits were revived by the fair prospect which they beheld in the vesta of coming time andt he reasonable hope of food for the coming winter and the gratifying belief that they had at last found homes and a resting place. But, alas! man's lot on earth is but a checkered scene at best; and, as the serenest sky and brightest sunshine are often obscured by dark and threatening clouds, so was the sunshine of their anticipated happiness darkened; adverse clouds were swiftly gathering around their devoted heads, which speedily poured forth an irresistible tempest that desolated their habitations and drove them out homeless and helpless wanderers on the voyage of life. The tragedy of the 19th day of June, 1816, destroyed all their prospects and dispersed them for the second time. The seed sown grew and brought forth abundantly, but the fowls of heaven reaped the harvest and enjoyed the fruit thereof.

After having narrated the trials and sufferings of last winter; and the favorable prospects of the last spring, we shall leave them for a short time and turn our attention to Mr. McDonell's movements. He and his half-breeds made their appearance, about the middle of June, at Portage la Prairie, being desirous, as he professed, to prevent a contest between his men and those under Governor Semple's command. A brigade of canoes, from Fort William, was expected to arrive in Red River about the 20th of June. Mr. McDonell knew that those in possession of Fort Douglas could blockade the river, at that point, and cut off all communication between the expected canoes and the North-West Company's servants encamped at Portage la Prairie. He knew that any attempt, made by his people, to pass up or down by water, would end in a collision of the rival parties and the probable discomfiture of the Canadian traders and the ruin of their

interest in the Red River country. To avoid this dreaded result, the North-West Company's servants essayed to open the communication, by land, between the stations on the Assiniboine and Lake Winnipeg, to effect that object. About sixty men, chiefly half-breeds and a few Indians were each provided with a horse, some bags of pemican were given them, part of which they were to use, the balance was to be given to the people, in the canoes, whom they were expected to meet on their way down the river. On leaving Portage la Prairie, Mr. McDonell gave them express orders to pass at a distance behind Fort Douglas and the colony; to molest no person, and, if possible, to avoid all observation. In pursuance of these orders, on the evening of the 19th day of June, 1816, the party proceeded by the edge of a swamp, about two miles from the Fort, with the intention of turning into the usual path, at a little distance below it. One half of the party had passed, if not unobserved, at least unpursued, and had reached Frog Plains, fully four miles below the Fort. Here they found a few colonists whom they detained as prisoners, but treated them well in every other respect. As the second party of the half-breeds, about one-half of the whole brigade, was passing down, they were, by the aid of a telescope, observed by a sentinel who was on the look-out on the top of the Fort. Governor Semple anxious, we may suppose, to execute his employers orders, saw the necessity of preventing, if possible, the North-West people who were up the river joining those who were expected to arrive from below. This is the North-West Company'sedition of the movements of the half-breeds up to the time they met Governor Semple. And here we shall give the testimony of a gentleman who was present at the ill-advised and ever to be lamented conflict which took place between the rival parties on the 19th day of June, 1816. Mr. Pritchard in his narrative, says:— "On the afternoon of the 19th June a man in the watch-house called out that the half-breeds were coming. The Governor, some gentlemen and myself looked through spy-glasses and saw distinctly some armed people passing along the plains. A man then calling out "they," meaning the half-breeds, "are making for the settlers"; on which the Governor said, "we must go out and meet

these people, let twenty men follow me." We proceeded by the old road leading down to the settlement. As we were going along we met many of the settlers running to the Fort, crying "the half-breeds, the half-breeds." When we were advanced about three quarters of a mile along the settlement, we saw some people on horseback behind a point of woods. On a nearer approach the party appeared to be more numerous, on which the Governor made a halt and sent for a field piece, which, delaying to arrive, he ordered us to advance. We had not proceeded far before the half-breeds on horseback, with their faces painted in the most hideous manner, and in the dress of Indian warriors, came forward and surrounded us in the form of a half-moon. We then extended our line and moved more into the plain, and as they advanced, we retreated a few steps backwards and then saw a Canadian named Bouchier ride up to us waiving his hand, and calling out, "What do you want?" The Governor replied, "What do you want?" To which Bouchier answered, "We want our Fort," to which the Governor said, "Go to your Fort." They were by this time near each other and consequently spoke too low for me to hear. Being at some little distance to the right of the Governor, I saw him take hold of Bouchier's gun and in a moment a discharge of fire-arms took place; but whether it began on our side or by the enemy it was impossible to distinguish. My attention was then directed towards my personal defence. In a few minutes almost all our people were killed or wounded. Captain Rogers, having fallen, rose up again and came towards me, when, not seeing one of our party that was not either killed or wounded, I called to him, "For God's sake give yourself up." He ran towards the enemy for that purpose, myself following him. He raised up his hands, and in English and broken French, called out for mercy; a half-breed, son of Col. William McKay, shot him through the head, and another ripped opened his belly with a knife while uttering the most horrid imprecations. Fortunately for me, a Canadian named Lavigne joined his entreaties with mine and saved me, though with the greatest difficulty, from sharing the fate of my friend at that moment. I was rescued from death in the most providential manner, no less than six times, on my road to and at the Frog Plain, the head-

quarters of these cruel murderers. No quarter was given to any of the party, except to myself. The knife, the axe, or the ball put a period to the existence of the wounded; and such horrible barbarities were practiced on the bodies of the dead as characterises the inhuman heart of the savage. The mild and amiable Mr. Semple, lying on his side, his thigh broken, and supporting his head on his hand, addressed the chief commander of our enemies by inquiring if he was Mr. Grant, and being answered in the affirmative, said, "I am not mortally wounded and if you could get me conveyed to the Fort, I think I would live." Grant promised to do so; and immediately left him in the care of a Canadian, who afterwards told that an Indian of their party came up and shot Mr. Semple in the breast. I entreated Mr. Grant to procure me Mr. Semples watch or seals for the purpose of transmitting them to his friends, but I did not succeed.

Our force amounted to twenty-eight men of whom twenty-one were killed and one wounded. These were Governor Semple, Captain Rogers, Mr. James White, surgeon; Mr. Wilkinson, private secretary to the Governor; Lieutenant Holt, of the Swedish navy, and Mr. Alexander McLean, a settler, with fifteen laboring men. J. P. Bourke was wounded in his retreat to the Fort. The enemy I am told, were sixty-two in number, the greater part of whom were the regularly engaged clerks and servants of the North-West Company. They had one man killed and another wounded. On the field I saw six of the North-West Company's Canadian servants, viz.: Bouchier, Morin, Deschamp, Joseph Hesse, Magian, and Lavigne. All parties agree that the half-breeds were on horseback when they passed down the country, and agree that Governor Semple mustered his men and followed the road that led north and parallel to Red River, in order to meet the North-West Company's men when they came to the road that led to the north. Semple's followers numbered twenty-eight or thirty men, most of them young lads unaccustomed to the use of fire-arms, and destitute, we may well suppose, of that self-reliance which every expert and well tried marksman possesses, even when confronted with the most imminent danger. Some of the settlers pressed their beloved Governor to grant them permission to accompany him, but

he prudently refused their kind offers and enjoined on them the necessity of remaining in the Fort with their families. While thus careful of the lives and comfort of others, this conscientious and high-minded gentleman was constrained by his sense of honor and devotion to what he believed to be the inalienable rights of his employers, to leave his Fort and meet the party that was passing by. It is likely that he and the North-West party came at the same time, to the place known as the Seven Oaks. We shall now give the North-West Company's version of the affair at the Seven Oaks, which is corroborated in almost every particular by the settlers who were in the colony at the time. This version states that on meeting the Hudson's Bay men, the half-breeds sent one of their number, a Canadian named Bouchier, who spoke English, to enquire of the Governor his object in pursuing them in a hostile manner. Bouchier rode up to the Governor, some words passed between them, upon which Mr. Semple took hold of Bouchier's horse by the bridle, disarmed him and ordered him to be taken prisoner, and that on his attempting to escape, the Governor ordered his men to fire immediately at Bouchier, and when his people hesitated, seeing the danger they would incur in such a conflict, he was more pre-emptory in his commands, accusing them of cowardice for not immediately obeying. His orders were at last obeyed by some of his party and of the shots fired one passed by Bouchier's ear in his flight, and another through the blanket of an Indian who was advancing in the attitude and with the language of friendship. Seeing himself thus treacherously assaulted, the Indian levelled his gun and fired in return, which example his party followed, and the melancholy result of the conflict was that the Indians rushing in, Mr. Semple and about twenty of his people lost their lives, and one half-breed and an Indian on the other side.

After the coalition of the two companies, when party interest required no longer to be propped up by any fabrications that would serve that purpose, all parties agreed in acknowledging that the first shot was from Lieutenant Holt's piece which went off accidentally. On hearing the report, Bouchier fancied that he had been fired at and instinctively threw himself from his horse. His

companions hearing the shot and seeing Bouchier slip, or as they most likely thought, tumble wounded, if not dead, to the ground, threw themselves from their horses, each man turning his horse into what may be termed "a breast work," fired steadily over its back into the crowd of men that were before them and who were doubtless taken unprepared and by surprise.

The settlers who were at the time in the Colony Fort, state that they always understood that the first shot went off accidentally from Holt's gun. However, no one was injured by that shot, yet we may suppose that it was the cause, indirectly of all the firing that ensued. Mr. Semple was first wounded in the arm, and a second shot broke his thigh bone. When in this helpless condition he implored Mr. Cuthbert Grant to get him conveyed to the Fort, where he might be attended to, stating that he was not mortally wounded, and would recover, if medical aid could be procured. Mr. Grant consigned him to the care of one of his party, and while that person was standing over him an Indian came up to them saying, "you dog you have been the cause of all this and shall not live," and at the same time shot him through the breast, causing immediate death. Eight of the Hudson's Bay men fell with him at Seven Oaks, the rest, thirteen in number, fell between the Seven Oaks and the Fort. A few got into the woods, that at that early date fringed the river on the west bank, thence crossed the river, hid themselves during the day, and after nightfall recrossed to the Fort. We have seen by Mr. Pritchard's narrative that Mr. Bourke was ordered by Governor Semple to go back to the Fort, and to bring out a field-piece; but, before Mr. Bourke had left the Fort with the field-piece the work of destruction had begun and nearly completed, and he and his party had not proceeded far on their way to join the Governor before they met some of the fugitives running for their lives towards the Fort. The half-breeds, intoxicated, we may well suppose, with their easy victory, were frantically galloping after them, whooping and yelling like so many incarnate fiends. However, Mr. Bourke and his party drew near, and when the victors perceived that they were supported by a field-piece, they began to show their dread of its power by keeping at a respectable distance from it. Yet, they did

not cease annoying the retreating party; they spread over the plains, each loaded his piece as quickly as he could, turned about his steed, darted forward at full speed as far as the terror of the field-piece would permit, fire his gun, then gallop off to a safe distance from the dreaded cannon. Thus each one in his turn continued to annoy the retreating party until they saw the guns in the watch-towers on the Fort. By them they were admonished to beat a retreat. Mr. Bourke, no doubt, had the pleasure and the merit of saving the lives of a few of his friends and fellow servants, who had the good fortune of getting under the protecting influence of the field-piece; but, unfortunately, Mr. Bourke did not escape unhurt. He received a ball wound in his leg, from which he suffered occasionally during the whole period of his after life.

Many of the colonists were in the Fort, either on business or for protection, before the Governor and his party left it. These, or at least some of them, made him an offer of their services, which he declined, as we have stated before. Others, alarmed by the constant report of discharged firearms, which took place in the afternoon, hastened to their "city of refuge," the Fort, so that before night came on most of the settlers were within its defences. However, their lodgings were not of the most desirable kind. Men, women and children had to crowd together in a house that was in course of erection; the walls had been logged but the seams were open and the apertures for the windows had neither parchment nor glass in them. The night passed quietly without any alarm, yet it was passed in the most agonizing terror. They had heard the sad tale of the savage butchery at the Seven Oaks, and they did not know how soon a similar fate might be their own. Mr. John Pritchart had been taken by his captors to their head-quarters at Frog Plains, and had to bear many threats and bitter insults from his savage tormenters. However, by many humble and pressing entreaties, assisted by Mr. Cuthbert Grant's all powerful intercession, he was at last permitted to leave for the Fort, accompanied part of the way by Mr. Grant, for the purpose of protecting him from any of the half-breeds that might be prowling about near the road. When he arrived at the Fort he found the inmates in a miserably distracted condition. It is true, none of the settlers,

properly so called, were present in the affair of the preceding day except Mr. McLean, who was unfortunately slain, leaving a widow and three small children to deplore his untimely end and their own sad bereavement.

The families who had not hitherto lost any of their members, could not say what even an hour might bring to pass. Their first resolution was to defend the place at all hazards, but, on further and more mature consideration, they saw clearly that they could not do so with any prospect of success. The available force did not exceed thirty men, and these men were undisciplined and unaccustomed to the use of arms ; moreover the provision stores were nearly empty. But, while still engaged in deliberating on the most advisable course for them to adopt, under existing circumstances, Mr. Pritchard appeared at the place, with some vague promises, viz. : that their lives would be spared if they would immediately surrender the place, without offering any resistance. This promise was accompanied by the terrible threat that if they fired a single shot at those who were preparing to advance on the place the following day, men, women and children would be indiscriminately slaughtered. The colonists could not or would not agree to the terms offered, stating at the same time, that, although they knew the untenable nature of their position and the desperate condition to which they were reduced, resistance, so long as they could offer any, was all that remained for them, unless the enemy would grant better terms. To obtain these Mr. Pritchard was despatched a second and a third time to Mr. Grant to negotiate terms of surrender. At last it was stipulated that the Governor, Mr. Alex. McDonell, (the former sheriff), and his people were to evacuate the Fort and be permitted to take all their private property, and be supplied with boats and provisions to take them to the north end of Lake Winnipeg. And further, that all the public property, *(i. e.)* the property belonging to the Earl of Selkirk, was to be taken possession of, for the indemnification of the North-West Company. While the negotiations were pending, the settlers had time to reflect. They considered the number and ferocity of their enemies, they knew that they had large supplies of provisions within easy reach, they had heard of parties of North-

West people being on their way to the Red River, both from the north and from Fort William. All these facts and statements after serious deliberation, inclined them to accept the terms offered. In due time Mr. Grant and a number of his men appeared before the Fort. Mr. Alexander McDonell, and a few of his people marched out bearing a white sheet tied to the end of a pole, which was made to do duty for a flag of truce. The parties met and the treaty was ratified. The keys of the stronghold were formally handed to Mr. Grant, who entered in and took possession. Order was preserved and, as soon as convenient, an inventory of all the goods in the place was taken, each sheet of the inventory being signed as follows:

"Received on account of the North-West Company by me, Cuthbert Grant, clerk for the North-West Company."

A copy of the inventory was given to Mr. McDonell, Mr. Grant kept another copy for the information, or benefit, of his employers. In justice to Mr. Grant's memory, and in justice to the feelings of his numerous and respectable descendants, we must say that the settlers, who were in the colony at the time said unanimously that Mr. Grant treated them with great kindness, and seemed to take pleasure in saying that, under the overruling of a kind providence, they owed the preservation of their lives and property to that gentleman's efforts in their behalf.

After the Fort had been taken possession of, and some order and confidence had been restored, Mr. Angus Matheson, with a few of the leading settlers, waited on Mr. Grant, and took the liberty of remonstrating with him on the inhumanity of leaving the remains of those who had been slain, unburied, exposed to dogs, wolves and vultures; at the same time requesting a guard, for protection, while occupied in search for the dead and removing them to the Fort. Mr. Grant directed Mr. Matheson to take a party of settlers with him, and go and bury the dead, assuring him, at the same time, that none of his followers would molest them while performing that sad duty. Being thus assured the party went forth and gathered up the scattered remains of eight or nine men who fell at the Seven Oaks. Among them they found the remains of their kind friend and benefactor, Governor Semple. After they saw the

scene that lay before them they were enabled to form some faint idea of the savage barbarity practiced on the dead, and the merciless cruelty that finished every wounded unfortunate that fell into their hands. However distressing the task was to their feelings, these kind and devoted friends, assisted by a number of Pigeoi's friendly Indians, went to work, to perform the last sad duty to their friends and countrymen. In many cases the mangled remains could not be removed and had to be interred where they lay. A few were taken to the Fort and buried in its vicinity. On the 22nd of June Mr. Alexander McDonell and his people evacuated the Fort, leaving Mr. Grant and his followers in full possession. The vanquished and retreating party were furnished with boats and provided with provisions after which they bade farewell, for a time, to Fort Douglass. One of the North-West Company's people was placed in each boat to show any marauders, half-breeds or Indians, who might be lurking near the river for the purpose of annoying the fugitives, that they could not do so without being detected. While the boats were passing down the river, Mr. Grant, accompanied by a few of the most reliable of his men, rode down the plains keeping some short distance in advance of the boats, escorting them until he thought that they were past all danger, when those escorts who were in the boats, landed and returned with Mr. Grant to the Fort. The sorely distressed strangers passed on towards Lake Winnipeg, and on the morning of the 23rd met a large brigade of North-West Company's canoes which were on their way up the Red River, and was no doubt the brigade expected by Mr. Alexander McDonell, and to which he sent the half-breeds with provisions, and for the purpose of protecting them while ascending the river. Messrs. Alexander McKenzie and Norman Archibald McLeod and Robert Henry, were in charge of the canoes. These gentlemen spoke kindly to their unfortunate countrymen and endeavored to persuade those among them, who were on their way to Hudson's Bay, to change their minds and accept a passage to Upper Canada, at the same time pointing out to them the great advantages they would enjoy in a country where civilization had made great progress, where persons and property were protected by laws wisely enacted and efficiently

executed. Some felt disposed to accept the offers made by these new friends, but the greater portion had firmly resolved on returning to their native mountains, and although differing in opinion, yet the ties of kindred and affection were too strong to permit them to separate. They considered their prospect of success in Red River hopeless while the country continued in such a state as prevailed during the last three years, which state was ushered in by the aggressive policy adopted by the Earl of Selkirk and the stern resistance with which these aggressions were now met by the other party.

While the emigrants and the North-West gentlemen were together, the latter took the liberty, according to the improved morality of the times, of breaking open Governor Semple's trunks, and of reading all the letters and papers which they found, and no doubt, kept all of them that might, at some future time, be turned to account in favor of their company. After this little business had been dispatched, a few prisoners taken and a few witnesses to give evidence in the Lower Canada law courts were embarked on board the canoes; the colonists proceeded on to the lake, and arrived in due time safely and all well at Jack River, at the north end of Lake Winnipeg, where we shall leave them for the present.

The north canoes, or some of them, proceeded up the river and found the Fort in possession of their own servants and dependents. After a stay of a few hours they returned for Fort William where they arrived on the 10th day of July. The North-West Company, thus accounts for this expedition which they sent into the interior at so unusual a period of the season:

"Early in the spring rumors reached Fort William of the destruction of the provision posts, and fearful that these aggressions might be extended to the interception of their trade in the upper Red River, the Saskatchewan, and even the trade from the north might be detained in the interior or easily sent down to York Factory, either of which would ruin their immense trade throughout the Indian Territories, and, to prevent so dire a misfortune, as soon as the spring canoes arrived from Montreal, it was judged expedient to send a reinforcement to the relief of the servants and partners in the interior. For the accomplishment of that object sixty men were dispatched from Fort William in light canoes for the interior, with instructions to avail themselves of the aid of Indians if judged necessary."

This brigade, as stated above, arrived in the Red River on the

morning of the twenty-third and after a short stay with the settlers at Netley Creek, a couple of canoes proceeded up the river, and, learning the navigation was now free for Mr. McDonell and his people, they returned to Netley Creek, and met a number of North-West partners, who had wintered at different places in the interior. These had arrived at their depot at La bas de la Riviere Winnipeg, but finding no provisions to supply them to Fort William, they manned a few light canoes and made for Red River to get provisions, or find out the reason why none was to be had, as in former years. After these met they turned their backs for the present on the Red River and made for Fort William on Lake Superior.

The North-West Company's agents in Montreal knew that His Lordship of Selkirk, had engaged and regimented under two captains, seconded by two lieutenants, about 140 mercenary foreign soldiers of De Meuron and Wattevile's regiments, with whom he intended to proceed to the Red River. The Indians and the Canadians (both the engaged and the free) could be easily persuaded that these were His Majesty's troops, placed at His Lordship's command to drive his rivals in trade out of the country. To counteract such idea or impression on the minds of their own servants and on the minds of the Indians, they engaged two lieutenants of the discharged De Meuron's, and brought these two officers, in the light canoes, to the very scene of their contention. First, that their own servants and the Indians might see that they also had soldiers, and would be led to infer from that fact that the North-West Company was under the protection of His Majesty's Government, and in the second place, that these gentlemen, being independent of the contending parties, would have no interest in misrepresenting anything that might take place between the rivals, so far as the same would come under their observation.

Thus, we have been minute in laying before the reader all the information that we have been able to collect, that threw any light on the feuds of those unhappy times. And we have been fortunate in being able to appeal, for our information, to the testimony of living witnesses, and not reduced to the necessity of

depending for our knowledge of past events on the special pleading of interested parties.

In narrating the transactions of the eventful summer of 1816, we cannot pass unnoticed a deplorable incident which occured on the River Winnipeg. We have stated above that Mr. Owen Keveny came into Hudson's Bay in 1812, at the head of the Irishmen who came into the country that year. After passing one winter in Red River, he returned to Ireland and came back in the fall of 1815 to Hudson's Bay, and passed the winter in the southern department. On the opening of navigation the following spring he had a boat fitted out at Albany, with a crew consisting of two half-breeds, the one a bowman, the other a steersman, in the middle were four Irishmen, making the usual number that are generally employed in working what is termed an inland boat. They made slow progress; the Irishmen quarrelled among themselves and were disobedient to their commanders. On their way up the river they met the inland boats going for the Bay with the proceeds of last winter's trade. In one of these was a young man who had fulfilled the term of his engagement with the Company, and who was on his way to the Factory, with the view of returning to his native land to assist his aged parents to manage their farm. Mr. Keveny commanded his constable, Tom Castello, to seize the young man, who, regardless of his entreaties, forced him into Keveny's boat. The Irishmen were noisy and refractory, and for the least umbrage given their irascible leader the unfortunate offending party would be made to run the gauntlet, and in cases of a graver character the culprit would be bound to a tree and receive a few stripes on his bare back. Two sentinels were posted every night: the duty of one of them was to stand with loaded musket and fixed bayonet in the boat all night, the other sentinel had to walk his lonely rounds before his chief's tent door, who passed the night in watching his sentinels. One of these unfortunate men, overcome by lassitude, sat down and fell fast asleep. Mr. Keveny, in true military style, went the rounds and found the man, to whose vigilance his personal safety had been entrusted, enjoying his rest. He began to apply the toe of his boot to the defaulter's person, for the purpose of restoring him to conscious-

ness. The unhappy object of this rude assault, half asleep, started to his feet, but, before he could think of either flying or resisting, his tormenter seized the miserable man's bayonet and plunged it into his victor's hip. After this gallant exploit he retired to his tent, leaving the wounded man to staunch the bleeding as best he could. We shall mention one instance more of the manner in which Mr. Keveny treated his men. These poor fellows, deprived of rest by night and forced to toil at the oar and on the portages by day, it is not surprising that these over-wrought men should be over-come by sleep, when working under the oppressive heat of a July sun, from dawn to dark. Mr. Keveny could not endure these symtoms of weakness in man's physical nature, and to remedy the evil tendency he decided on making an example of Hay, who fell fast asleep in his seat while holding the oar in his hand. To effect the remedy Mr. Keveny loaded his gun with powder and fired it in the sleeping man's face, at so close a distance that the skin was completely burnt and the countenance disfigured and blackened by particles of unexploded powder that lodged in the skin. However, in spite of all troubles and difficulties, as time passed on, they were approaching near to Red River, and in coming down English River, near where it falls into Winnipeg River, they met some Indians who informed them of the slaughter at the Red River, and of the departure of the settlers for Jack River.

After the above information the two half-breeds, Hugh Linklater and David Sanders, and the two or three families of Freemen who had accompanied them from the Bay, with the intention of settling in the colony, turned back under cover of the night, to rejoin the Indians whom they had passed on the preceding day, judging that if once there they would be far enough removed to render them secure from all molestation on the part of their deserted master, who would at once see that there was no chance of his being able, with his half-manned boat, to overtake the deserters. He, notwithstanding the weakness of his crew and the rough and dangerons nature of the navigation that intervened between him and Lake Winnipeg, proceeded on his voyage. Misfortunes often succeed each other, and so Mr. Keveny's experience fully proved. The next night all his men, except three, made their escape, and the

sorely grieved and irritated chief had to order his clerk, Mr. Colly, to steer the boat. Day after day did these four men work on rowing, carrying and launching the craft when they could not venture to descend by water, thus doing the work of seven or eight men. After a long and patient struggle they arrived at the lower fall on the river Winnipeg, at a distance of fifteen or sixteen miles from the North-West Company's Fort at Bas de la River. (The H. B. Co. had no post at that place in the year 1816). These men were ignorant of the distance and of the nature of the road that lay between them and the Fort; but, as they were toiling on the portage, an Indian woman, who was on her way up the river, (one of the men who was still with Mr. Keveny could speak the Indian language), was met, and they learned from her that the Fort was on the same side of the river on which they were, that neither river nor lake was between them and it, and that the journey could easily be performed on foot in half a day. During a day of hard labour they succeeded in getting the boat and cargo, before sunset, over the acclivity to the height of the portage. For the first time, since they left Albany, their chief told them to cease labor. Some rations were dealt out to them and, contrary to the usual custom, each man received three days' allowance. The two Hibernians treated themselves to a more luxurious evening meal than any they had enjoyed for a long time before—almost all the rations given them disappeared. After supper they went to rest, pretended to be asleep, but resolutely resisted its approaches. They watched the movements of their leader and, after some time, observed that he had not only gone to bed but that he had fallen into a sound sleep.

Night spread her sable mantle over forest, lake and stream, a few stars dimly twinkled through the broken clouds. The time and situation were favorable for the accomplishment of their object which was nothing less than emancipating themselves from the intolerable tyranny of their harsh and cruel master. They slung their all on their backs and directed their steps towards the North-West Company's Fort where they arrived at an early hour the following morning, and were received very kindly by the gentleman in charge of the place. The Orkneyman, more considerate than his

friends from the Emerald Isle, and perhaps more devoted to the performance of his duty, could not be persuaded by all that his companions could say to leave his post and accompany them. He says, that while descending the River Winnipeg, he often wished for a fight with the North-West men, in which he might chance to find an honorable termination to his miserable existence, yet, here he remained for some hours, his mind agitated by distracting fears and saddened by the monotonous roar of the heavy waterfall near him. He did not like to throw himself on the mercy of the French —he had had several squabbles with North-West men during the preceding winter—he did not understand their language, all the time forgetting that these Frenchmen were his fellow-subjects, and in nine cases in every ten officered by his own countrymen from Scotland. After thinking again and again on the difficulties of his position, he came to the conclusion that there was less danger in trusting to the mercy of the Canadians (notwithstanding his ignorance of their language), than in facing Mr. Keveny in the morning, who, on discovering that his two men had deserted, might in a fit of rage blow out his brains for aiding and concealing their flight. Having arrived at the above conclusion, he determined on his future course of action. Towards morning he left the sleeping Mr. Keveny and the camp, and followed the river towards Lake Winnipeg. He did not go far before the Eastern sky began to give tokens of approaching day and our traveller, in dread of being pursued and discovered, turned into the forest to conceal himself and to rest his weary body and troubled mind. Nature, ever kind, had here prepared a bed of soft velvety moss on which he lay down and was soon immersed in deep sleep. The sun was high in the sky when he opened his eyes and feeling much refreshed lost no time in resuming his journey and, fortunately for him, he had not proceeded far before he discovered a brigade of North-West Company's canoes sailing down the river before a strong breeze of south wind. Our lonely traveller hung out a signal of distress, which was observed by those in the canoes. One of them hauled to the wind, crossed the river and took him on board, when he found that the Canadians were not only very kind, but that some of them could speak very good English. A short time brought

them to Fort Alexander, of which Mr. Archibald McLellan was in charge, who treated the stranger kindly; lodged him in his kitchen and ordered him to be fed at the same table with the Fort people. Here he found three of his former companions who were all well satisfied with the change in their condition. The following day Mr. A. N. MacLeod arrived from Fort William, on his way to the far North. Mr. MacLeod, being a Justice of the Peace for the Indian Territories, on his arrival at the place, Hoy and Tom Seveny appeared before him and made affidavit, in which they stated some particulars of the tyrannical and cruel manner in which Keveny had treated them on their way from Albany. Mr. MacLeod considered their evidence sufficiently strong to justify him in issuing his warrant for Mr. Keveny's apprehension; and to carry the warrant into execution he swore in Thomas Costello, constable for the Indian Territories, and committed the warrant to him with orders to serve it on his former master. In the afternoon two canoes, bearing the constable and his warrant, were despatched up the river. In one of these canoes were two half-breeds, the constable Costello and De Reinhard. The other canoe carried three half-breeds and a North-West Company's clerk. These canoes arrived early the following morning at the boat, where they found Mr. Keveny, on whom the warrant was served. They left the clerk with Mr. Colly at the boat and proceeded down the river to the Fort with the prisoner, who was apparently received by the gentlemen there with great kindness, and dined with Mr. McLellan at the officers' mess. The canoe-men, who had arrived that day at the place, in the morning commenced dancing, their favourite amusement, and when all the people in the place were intently occupied in merry-making, the prisoner attempted to scale the stockades; but he was observed by a little girl who chanced to be standing in the yard, and who made the fact known to the dancers, who rushed out and succeeded in securing the unfortunate Mr. Keveny, who was at once confined to his

room, and a sentinel armed with one of his Lorship's muskets placed at the door. After having been detained two or three nights at the Fort, he was sent off for Fort William in a canoe manned by three half-breeds, who were accompanied by another canoe with an equal number of men. The day after Mr. Keveny's departure, the men who had formed part of his boat's crew and who were then at *Bas de la Rivière*, were, with five other men, sent up the river to bring down the boat and property, which consisted of a chest of arms, a distil, some casks of salt beef, flour, etc., with four calves which Mr. Keveny had taken from Osnaburgh for the purpose of raising stock in the colony. In due time the boat was taken to the Fort, and Mr. Colly, the clerk, being left without a master, and unable to go to any of the Hudson's Bay Company's Posts on Lake Winnipeg, or to take the boat and property back, requested Mr. McLellan to take charge of the same. To this the latter gentleman agreed; and the property being formally delivered, he gave his receipt to Mr. Colly therefor. This business being arranged, the Hudson's Bay clerk was desirous of returning to Albany and lost no time in applying to Mr. McLellan for a canoe and provisions. These also were granted, and Mr. Colly and James Corregan set out for Hudson's Bay, where they arrived safely in the beginning of October, in the year 1816.

We have stated that after a few days detention at *Bas de la Rivière*, Mr. Keveny had been sent off for Fort William, and the day after his boat and cargo were brought to the Fort by one Primo, who delivered to Mr. McLellan Mr. Keveny's papers, books, a wine flagon, a candlestick, cups, and some other little things; and took for his own benefit the clothing left by Mr. Keveny when he was sent off for Lake Superior. Among the papers were found printed instructions from the Hudson's Bay Company. Here we may observe, that Mr. Keveny's boat had been fitted up in warlike style; she carried a blunderbuss of formidable length and calibre on her bow, which turned on a pivot

and could be brought to bear on any point either to the right or to the left. It carried a large chest of muskets and bayonets, cartridge boxes and ammunition in great abundance. This boat was altogether different, in its warlike equipment, from any that navigated those waters before its time or since, until the 60th and the Canadian volunteers came in by the River Winnipeg, in 1870. We are informed in De Reinhard's declaration and confession, made before the Earl of Selkirk, at Fort William, on the third day of November, 1816, that the half-breeds who had been sent off with Keveny had been furnished with hand cuffs to bind their prisoner if he should become unmanageable, and further on in the same declaration we find these words :—

I have learned afterwards from the half breeds that, having arrived at the Portage, the prisoner became so unruly that they were under the necessity of putting him in irons.

The rest of the unfortunate Owen Keveny's deplorable history we gather from other depositions taken at Fort William before the Earl of Selkirk, in October of the same year. Baptiste Lapointe's and Hubert Faye's depositions agree in the leading facts given in their evidence. Both say that they left Lac la Pluie in Mr. Alexander McDonell's canoe, who was on his way to Red River, where he was to pass the winter. When they arrived at Pine Point they met five *Bois-Brûlés* in two small canoes, with a man whom they called Keveny in hand cuffs and with his wrists swollen, and, who, the *Bois-Brûlés* said, had been made prisoner because he had killed two or three of his men. Mr. McDonell ordered Lapointe and Faye to take charge of the prisoner, and placed with them in the canoe an Indian named Joseph, to guide them to Lac la Pluie. After nine days' travelling including stoppages, they met Mr. Stuart and the English River partner, Mr. Thomson, a few miles above Rat Portage. These gentlemen told them to turn back; but their little canoe not being able to keep up with the brigade they were obliged to land. The Indian, who from the first had attempted to kill Mr. Keveny, again levelled his piece but

was prevented. He became so exasperated at this disappointment, and also because the two Canadians had at different times prevented him from killing Mr. Keveny, that he knocked the canoe to pieces with his paddle. Being now without a canoe, the Indian bought another for a blanket, in which he embarked with the two Canadians, leaving Mr. Keveny on the shore.

Then they set out for *Bas de la Rivière*, and after proceeding till night the Indian, who had attempted to kill both the Canadians, left them, and the Canadians having lost their canoe remained in that place four days. At the end of that time a canoe arrived with Mr. Archibald McLellan, Mr. Grant, Mr. Reinhard and Mr. Cadot, with five or six *Bois Brûlés*, accompanied by their constant attendant, the Indian Joseph, sitting on the front of the canoe, wrapped in a Scotch plaid. After several questions about the Indian and the prisoner, the deponent, Baptiste Lapointe, informed Mr. Archibald that they had parted with the Indian because he wanted to kill the prisoner and had been prevented by the white men, and that in revenge he had made an attempt to kill them, when they fought and separated. On hearing this tale Mr. Cadot called them *sacres salots* for preventing the Indian doing what he had been ordered to do. Mr. McLellan having come on shore at that moment, took a pole and beat the two Canadians.

Being ordered to embark in the canoe they arrived the same day, or the day after, at the place where they had left Keveny, but he was no longer there. They found him, however, four or five leagues higher up the river among some Indians. After some conversation between Mr. McLellan and those of their canoe, he ordered them to embark. So says Lapointe's evidence.

Hubert Faye says: After some consultation Mr. Archibald bought a small canoe for some rum, and Tob ordered them to embark at once, which they did, leaving behind the Indian Joseph, Mr. Reinhard (the *Bois-Brûlé*), Mainville

and Mr. Keveny, with the small canoe. Mr. McLellan and crew, as stated above, proceeded on their journey, but did not travel beyond three leagues before they put to shore, and soon after saw the small canoe approaching; and as there were only three persons then in it the *Bois-Brûlés* said they have at last killed Mr. Keveny, which Mainville, when he arrived, confirmed by saying that the bullet had passed through his neck, and that he had been stabbed in the back by Reinhard and had fallen on the canoe. This is what the two Canadians heard from Mainville's relation of the manner in which the ill-fated Mr. Keveny was murdered.

Mr. Reinhard's declaration and confession, made to Captain D'Orsonnens, was much more in detail. The latter was then in possession of the North-West Company's Fort at Lac la Pluie, at the head of a number of Canadians and DeMeurons, in the Earl of Selkirk's service. Reinhard states that he received a copy of the Governor's proclamation, which was brought up from Canada by his Lordship, and circulated among his subordinates.

This proclamation was founded on an Act passed in the British Parliament in the 43rd year of the reign of George the Third, entitled:—

An Act for extending the Jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice in the Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada to the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences within certain parts of North America adjoining to these Provinces. It is amongst other things enacted and declared that from and after the passing of the said Statute, all offences committed within any of the Indian Territories, or parts of America not within the limits of the said Provinces of Lower or Upper Canada, or of any civil government of the United States of America, shall be deemed to be offences of the same nature, and shall be tried in the same manner, and subject to the same punishment, as if the same had been committed within the Provinces of Lower or Upper Canada.

Here we have given the Act, and hereafter we shall place the proclamation before the reader.

A few hours after Reinhard received the letter and its accompanying document, his old friend and companion in arms arrived at the Fort with a number of Hudson's Bay Company's canoe-men and DeMeurons, who took forcible

possession of it for his Lordship of Selkirk, who had become master of the most important depôt, except Fort William, which the North-West Company occupied in the Indian Territories.

We shall leave the gallant Captain and his DeMeurons for the present, and turn our attention to his Lordship's operations after his arrival at Montreal, in the fall of 1815, where he passed the winter months occupied in engaging *voyageurs* and clerks for the fur trade, and in enlisting soldiers and in organizing a military force. The time was favourable for the accomplishment of the latter object, as the war on this continent had been terminated, numbers of soldiers had been discharged, and among these were a great number of those who had served in DeMeuron's Regiment. These mercenaries had served in the French armies in Spain, where they had been guilty, according to an account as given by some of themselves, of the most atrocious crimes ever perpetrated by a licentious soldiery in an enemy's country. His Lordship enlisted over 100 of these veterans with two captains, two lieutenants and some non-commissioned officers—wishing the rest of the world to believe that he was taking them to his colony as agricultural settlers.

We shall see hereafter that his Lordship found other employment for them in every way more congenial to their minds and former habits of life, and they proved themselves fit instruments for the work in which he intended to employ them. We may state, that during his Lordship's stay at Montreal, the North-West Company's Agents made overtures to him for the union of the two companies, which advances were scouted by the Earl. We shall enter more fully into those proposals hereafter. Early in the spring his Lordship sent off by the Ottawa a brigade of twelve canoes for the interior, to reinforce those who went the year before and passed the winter in Athabaska. The North-West Company's Agents and partners could no longer doubt the object which their antagonist had in view when he spurned their

proposals for union; nor could they remain doubtful, as to the mode and instrumentality by which he intended to accomplish his purpose. Apprehensive of the ruinous consequence to their trade from his Lordship's military preparations, they addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, dated on the first day of February, 1816, and in the concluding paragraph of that letter they say:—

We do not presume to point out the particular proceeding which in this case would be satisfactory to ourselves. Our sole object is to put an end to violence and bloodshed, and we are perfectly satisfied that in the discussion to which such proceedings must give rise, the interests of His Majesty's Canadian subjects will at least meet with as favourable consideration as those of their opponents.

Again we find them applying to the same official in a letter dated March 1st, 1816, in which they say:

We do not venture to suggest the remedy it may be in their power, or may appear eligible to His Majesty's Government to provide in this case, but we are certain if some measure be not adopted to define, without delay, the limits, power and authority of the Hudson's Bay Company, a contest will ensue in the interior the results of which will be dreadful with respect to loss of lives and property.

In this letter they enclose, for the Secretary's perusal, the correspondence which passed between their agents in Montreal, during the winter, and the Earl of Selkirk. Unfortunately, these reiterated appeals for protection and guidance to His Majesty's Government, availed not for the present, and soon after the Hudson's Bay brigade of canoes left Lachine, his Lordship set out with his forces by the lakes—some in canoes, others in boats. The DeMeurons had new regimentals given to them for the service, and were equipped with all the pomp and circumstance of war, even to a furnace for heating cannon balls. They commenced their voyage, and on his way he engaged some discharged Highlanders of the Glengarry corps to follow his fortunes. His Lordship was appointed Justice of the Peace for the Indian Territories and for Upper Canada, and a military escort under the name of bodyguard, consisting of a Sergeant and a detachment of the 37th Regiment, was also granted on his application to the Governor of Canada, for the protection of his person in

the expedition he meditated in the spring to the Red River. We shall, for the reader's information, copy part of the instructions given to the officer who was put in command of his Lordship's bodyguard.

I am commanded to convey to you the positive prohibition of His Excellency the Lieutenant General Commanding the Forces against the employment of this force for any other purpose than the personal protection of the Earl of Selkirk. You are particularly ordered not to engage yourself, or the party under your command, in any dispute which may occur between the Earl of Selkirk, his engagees and employees and those of the North-West Company, or to take any part or share in any affray which may arise out of such disputes. By such interference on your part, you would not only be disobeying your instructions, but acting in direct opposition to the wishes and intentions of the Government, to the countenance, support and protection of which each party has an equal claim. The Earl of Selkirk has engaged to furnish the party under your command with provisions during the time of your absence. You are on no occasion to separate from your party, but to return with his Lordship; and on no account to suffer yourself or any of your detachment to be left at any settlement or post in the Indian country. These instructions are to be clearly explained to the non-commissioned officers and men in your party.

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.,

J. HARVEY, Lieut.-Col. D.A.G.

LIEUTENANT GRAFFENRIED,
DeMeuron Regiment.

We have stated that a brigade of Hudson's Bay canoes left for the interior early in the month of May; Mr. Miles McDonnell the ex-Governor of Assiniboia went along with these canoes, and, on arriving at Lake Winnipeg, received intelligence of Mr. Semples unhappy fate and of the dispersion of the colonists. On receipt of this information, he immediately turned for Lake Superior to carry the tidings to his Lordship. In passing Fort William, the North-West Company's agents obtained correct information from him or from some of his party of what had taken place at Red River during the winter and spring, which information was in a few days corroborated by their own people whom they had sent to Red River in the spring, and who had now returned to head quarters. Mr. McDonell passed without delay over Lake Superior, and found his Lordship at St. Mary's with his DeMeurons and hosts of canoe and boat-men, waiting

for an expected addition to his forces, and for provisions and artillery that were coming across Lake Huron to him.

No doubt the news from Red River would be far from agreeable to his Lordship. The wholesale depredations committed on the North-West Company's property by his servants on the authority that he and his associates thought proper to assume, terminated in the slaughter of his servants, the capture of his Fort and the dispersion of his colonists, and in their dispersion the apparent destruction of all his cherished schemes for the attainment of power, and the ostensible reason for the many acts of aggression of which his servants had been guilty during the last three years. However, we may well suppose that his sagacity soon pointed out to him the advantage to which such an unexpected and fearful occurence might be turned, by studiously concealing the series of outrages committed by his servants on the persons and property of his rivals, and made them resort to force ; and by magnifying the consequence of their resistance, into an act of premeditated murder, devised by some prolific brain, deliberately discussed in full council and unanimously adopted by the agents and partners of the North-West Company who were at Fort William in the summer of 1814. No doubt inducing the settlers to leave the colony and affording facilities to enable them to do so, would be grievous crimes in his Lordship's estimation, and the so-called stolen cannon, whether taken by the settlers as a precautionary measure to prevent the possibility of their being used against themselves on their intended passage down the river, or taken by the North-West Company's servants for the sole purpose of depriving their opponents of these powerful weapons, which might any time be turned against them by being used to shut up the navigation of Red River and prevent ingress or egress. Either of the above cases would, no doubt, be considered by his Lordship sufficient to satisfy him in employing the force under his command in doing himself

justice, or in other words, to harrass his rivals in trade and derange their business. The melancholy affair of the Seven Oaks in June came to his knowledge while he lay at St. Mary, waiting for his artillery and supplies. After these had arrived he moved in the pride of his strength for Fort William, to give a deadly blow to the interests of the great Canadian Company, and to send down to Canada in bonds as many of "the Lords of the Lakes" as he would think proper, to accuse of the heinous crimes of treason and murder.

We are informed in the statement published by his Lordship's friends, that previous to Captain McDonell's return from the interior with the news of the disaster at Red River, his Lordship intended to pass on the south side of Lake Superior and proceed through the River St. Louis to Red Lake, and then down Red Lake River to the colony. We are of the opinion that there is no foundation for the above assertion beyond what his Lordship thought proper to advance afterwards in his publications to justify or palliate his extraordinary proceedings at Fort William; because, boats, as far as we have been able to learn, never had passed through the River St. Louis to the Red River of the north, and we are of opinion that that route is impracticable for such crafts and cargoes as his Lordship had. Traders have gone up the River St. Louis with their canoes, and passed into Red Lake, but their crafts were especially made for such navigation, and their cargoes were made up of light pieces. In the present case, the Earl had boats and heavy field pieces with the necessary stores of ammunition and provisions. Had his Lordship informed us that he intended passing through Pigeon River, we would be disposed, to some extent, to credit the assertion, because we know, from the most authentic authority, that the Canadian traders had carried on their trade in the far west through that channel, from its very commencement to the year 1784, a period of one hundred years, when they abandoned the Grand Portage

and established their grand depôt near the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, and ever after, up to the time of which we are writing, carried on their trade through it. During the summers of 1815 and 1816 the Hudson's Bay Company's brigades of canoes were constantly passing and repassing before Fort William, and before the other forts on that line of communication. We never heard that the North-West people interfered with any of them, although that association had, at their own expense, made great improvements on the road in clearing it and in laying corduroy bridges over the swamps on the portages between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg. The question then arises: Why should his Lordship leave the daily travelled, direct and improved route to his colony, and commit himself and the heterogeneous multitude in his service to the difficulties of an unfrequented and almost unknown way, while the other was open to him? To this, we believe, there is just one answer, namely, that his Lordship would not be guilty of committing so egregious a blunder. Therefore, we feel justified in stating, as our opinion, that the North-West Company's headquarters was, from the commencement of his military preparations, the object on which he intended to essay the prowess of his forces; and, as we have stated the affair of the 19th of June came opportunely to his knowledge, not only to stimulate his desire of taking the law into his own hands, but to deal out what he was pleased to call justice to those who had so persistently resisted his subordinates' mandates.

It presented his Lordship also with an opportunity, which he did not fail to turn to good account, of holding up his opponents to public odium and execration by his publications; while, on the other hand, it afforded him the means of enlisting public sympathy in his own favour, especially in the Old Country, where the squabbles and plunderings which destroyed the peace of the Indian countries, during the four preceding years, were very little known. His Lordship published in his statement his intention of passing

by the the south side of Lake Superior and avoiding Fort William, but we find that early in August he leaves Sault St. Mary, proceeds by the north side of Lake Superior, and enters the Kaministiquia on the 12th of August. At this time the usual business of the season was in actual progress, and far from being completed. The wintering partners who had been appointed, by the general meeting, to the remote trading stations in the interior, had taken their departure; but the partners appointed to take charge of the stations on the Red River, River Winnipeg, on the communication from these places to Fort William, and all the stations in the vicinity of Lake Superior, still remained at the Fort, together with the outfits of merchandise, arms and ammunition, &c, destined for the trade of their respective stations, and for the use of the natives depending upon them for supplies. A considerable and by far the most valuable part of the returns from the interior was also deposited at the Fort, in order to be sent down to Montreal for shipment to England. This consisted of six hundred packs of the finest furs, the value of which in the English market would be moderately estimated at £60,000 sterling.

The Fort was under the direction of Mr. William McGillivray and Mr. Kenneth McKenzie, the agents as they are called, though they may be more properly described as directors, of the North-West Company. The wintering partners for the stations above specified were also in the Fort, together with the *voyageurs* or wintering servants of the Company who were to navigate the canoes carrying the supplies to the different trading stations, and also the Montreal canoe-men who were to carry down the furs. Their number together must have exceeded 500 men, and the place, though not properly a Fort, but merely a square of houses and stores surrounded by a strong and lofty stockade, contained an ample supply of arms and ammunition, and was capable of considerable resistance.

The Earl of Selkirk's proceedings at Fort William were so extraordinary in themselves, as well as so momentous in their consequences, not only to the North-West Company, but, even though he meant it not, to the Hudson's Bay Company, that they require to be particularly detailed.

CHAPTER V.

LORD SELKIRK AT FORT WILLIAM—HE TAKES POSSESSION OF THE FORT IN MILITARY ORDER—A PROTEST—PRISONERS SENT TO MONTREAL—SEARCHING STOREHOUSES—A PROCLAMATION—SELKIRK'S DEPREDATIONS—SUFFERING COLONISTS ON JACK RIVER—RETURN OF THE COLONISTS TO RED RIVER—PRIVATIONS—ARRIVAL OF THE CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS—RESTITUTION—THE FIRST SHOWER OF GRASSHOPPERS—CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE NORTH-WEST AND HUDSON'S BAY COMPANIES—SUFFERINGS OF THE PIONEERS.

We have stated before that the Earl of Selkirk entered the Kaministiquia on the 12th of August, whence he passed up the river with four canoes attended by a number of soldiers and by his body guard, with whom he encamped about 800 or 900 yards above the Fort, on the opposite side of the river. Within two or three hours after eleven boats full of men in the unform of DeMeuron's Regiment, came into the river and were followed by one boat and two canoes loaded with arms, stores, &c. The troops immediately joined Lord Selkirk at his encampment, cannon were loaded, drawn up and pointed to the Fort, and balls were piled beside them as if prepared for a siege and bombardment. On the following day two persons belonging to his Lordship's suite, named McNabb and McPherson, came to the Fort about three o'clock in the afternoon, and having, without difficulty, obtained admission, they arrested William McGillivray, who immediately offered to attend his Lordship and, utterly ignorant of any ground for a charge, took with him Mr. Kenneth McKenzie and Dr. McLaughlin, to give bail for him if required. On embarking to cross over to his Lordship's encampment they were guarded by about twenty

soldiers who had accompanied Messrs. McNabb and McPherson, and on their reaching the other side they were received by a party of the 37th Regiment, under arms, who conducted them to Lord Selkirk. Mr. McKenzie and Dr. McLaughlin, instead of being accepted as bail, were told that they were involved in the same charge with Mr. McGillivray, which appeared to be some concern or participation imputed to them in the transactions at Red River, and his Lordship stated that all the partners of the North-West Company who had been at Fort William in the year 1814, when Mr. Duncan Cameron had been appointed to their post on Red River, were implicated in the alleged crimes. Any attempt at justification was of course useless, nor was any necessary, for Lord Selkirk must at the time have been equally convinced as they were themselves, not only of their innocence, but even their complete ignorance of the transactions imputed to them as crimes. Military possession was then taken of the Fort as is particularly described in the deposition of Lieutenants Brumby and Missani, and in Mr. Jasper Vandersluys journal, who had been employed as book-keeper to the agents of the North-West Company, and who upon the arrest and removal of all the partners, as detailed in the journal, was left in charge of their affairs. As his Lordship's actions at Fort William were professedly done in retaliation for injuries inflicted by the North-West Company on his Lordship's interest at Red River, they may be considered as an episode in the history of the Red River Colony.

Vandersluys says: "Half an hour after these gentlemen (McGillivray, McKenzie and McLaughlin) were gone, a bugle was sounded at his Lordship's camp. Two boats, with from twenty-five to thirty armed soldiers in each, were dispatched from the camp to the Fort, and with them were Mr. McNabb and Mr. McPherson, who had been appointed constables by the Earl, and who made prisoners of Messrs. John McDonald, Alexander McKenzie, Hugh McGillis, Simon Fraser, Allan McDonell and Daniel McKenzie. Mr. John McDonald re-

quested the constables to show their authority and to exhibit their warrant. It will hardly be believed that this legal demand, which the Earl of Selkirk now endeavours to hold as a resistance to the execution of the warrant, served as a signal for attack. Captain D'Orsonnens, the leader of these intoxicated and almost uncontrollable soldiers, cried out '*aux armes, aux armes*,' and immediately the bugle was sounded, and an armed force of about sixty in number, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, rushed forcibly into the Fort, shouting, cursing and threatening death and destruction to all persons and to all property. The soldiers were strongly countenanced in their outrages by their officers, among whom the most conspicuous was Captain D'Orsonnens ; next to him was Captain Matthey. Lieutenants Fauche, Graffenried and some others followed the example set before them by their inconsiderate leaders.

"They spread their troops in every direction, driving the peaceable inhabitants before them, and spreading alarm and terror among the women and children by their horrible shouts and exclamations. They placed two pieces of cannon in the centre of the Fort and sentinels in all quarters. All the while the above gentlemen did not offer any resistance, but, on the contrary, patiently submitted to the outrageous and lawless conduct of their assailants.

"They were then carried off to the Earl's camp, and guarded by an armed force. Had the least thought been entertained of making resistance, nothing would have been easier than to have done so, and to have exterminated the whole of Lord Selkirk's band, for at the time the Earl made his appearance we mustered nearly three times the number of his people, and were provided with more than sufficient means of defence ; but no such thing was ever contemplated or even suggested, in proof of which, the sale, and even the usual daily distribution, of liquor to the men, was positively forbidden. The Fort was now in the utmost degree of disorder, at the discretion of the intoxicated and infuriated soldiers, and if no blood was shed on this occasion neither Lord Selkirk nor his people have any claim to the credit of it. About eight, p.m., our gentlemen returned, having, as I understood, engaged with Lord Selkirk to go back next day to his camp in order to undergo an examination. I omitted to mention that, after our gentlemen had been carried off, Mr. McNabb, one Mr. Allen (the Earl's medical attendant),

accompanied by Captain D'Orsonnens, proceeded to the North-West Company's office, and there presented a warrant addressed to the chief clerk, with orders to seal up all the papers. This being complied with, they went into Mr. McGillivray's private room and did the same, and subsequently into the rooms of all the before-named gentlemen. When the gentlemen returned to the Earl's camp, they expostulated on the injury done to their business by the presence of the troops in the Fort, and insisted on their being withdrawn, which was only partly complied with, and a guard of twenty soldiers was left under the command of Lieut. Graffenreid.

"The general terror, the uncertainty as to what were the Earl's designs, and the acts of violence and infringement of all law and order, which had been already committed, made us all pass a night of fear and anxiety. On the morning of the 14th of August, 1816, the partners in the North-West Company drew up a protest against the acts of violence committed the day before, which was in the following terms:—

We, the undersigned agents and partners of the North-West Company, being this day, the fourteenth of August, 1816, in a body assembled at Fort William, in the District of Kaministiqua, do hereby formally protest against the violent proceedings done and committed upon our persons and property at the above mentioned place in the afternoon of the above mentioned day, by a troop to the number of fifty to sixty, disbanded and intoxicated soldiers, formerly belonging to the Regiment of DeMeuron, and at present in the service and pay of the Earl of Selkirk, headed by Captain D'Orsonnens and Lieutenant Fauché, and afterwards joined by Captain Matthy and Lieutenant Grieffenreid, who forcibly entering the Fort gate, spread out their troops in every direction having their bayonets fixed and shouting a most horrid hurra! which spread a general terror amongst the inhabitants of the Fort, after which they placed two pieces of cannon in the centre of the Fort, and sentinels in all quarters, and proceeded by order of the Earl of Selkirk with armed force; leaving there one Dr. Allan, his Lordship's medical attendant, at their head, to seal up the papers and desks in the North-West Company's office and those of the private rooms of the agents

We do therefore most solemnly protest against these acts of violence, and against all those whom it may concern.

(Signed) WM. McGILLIVRAY, ALLAN McDONELL,
KENNETH McKENZIE, JOHN McLAUGHLIN,
JOHN McDONALD, HUGH McGILLIS,
SIMON FRASER, DANIEL McKENZIE.

"In conformity with their engagement to Lord Selkirk the previous night, our gentlemen were preparing to embark in order to proceed to his Lordship's camp, when a strong reinforcement of troops arrived from the other side, headed

by Captain Matthy, with the intelligence that the Earl would soon be at the Fort; and in less than half an hour afterwards he made his appearance with his body guard. After he entered the hall in the mess-room, Mr. McGillivray handed to the Earl the above mentioned protest, which he read. An armed force of the 37th Regiment was stationed within and without doors. The Earl enquired who were the clerks in charge of the concern in the absence of the proprietors; James McTavish and myself were named, which the Earl approved of. His Lordship went with Mr. McTavish into the office, where he entered into close conversation with his Surgeon and Captain D'Orsonnens. Then he went into Mr. McGillivray's apartment and to the different rooms occupied by the proprietors in order to examine the seals put on the day before, after which he was in long and close conversation with his officers in the court yard of the Fort. He returned and ordered all the prisoners to be closely confined to their rooms; and took a room for his own quarters in the mess house. Mr. McGillivray represented to him the necessity of allowing the clerks to proceed with their regular business, and that therefore the seals should be taken from off their desks, and the contents examined. His Lordship answered, that there were things of the utmost importance to be settled first, and then placed sentinels with fixed bayonets before the doors of all the partners. The Earl applied to me to give him an explanation of the various buildings in the Fort; but I told him it was out of my power, as I was a stranger at the place. He then went round to take a full view of the Fort. I followed him. One Chatelain met him and took him aside. He returned into the Fort; and, a heavy shower coming on, I took him into Dr. McLaughlin's house for shelter.

"His Lordship was very inquisitive, enquiring as to the number of cattle, the produce of the harvest, &c. After the rain, he went to his room in the mess house, with Captain D'Orsonnens, Captain Matthy and his Surgeon, who, in all respects, seemed to be his principal confidants and principal agents. After some time he came out and asked me to go for Mr McTavish, who came and complied with his Lordship's request in explaining the use and contents of all the buildings in the Fort. The bell rang for dinner. The prisoners received their dinners, each in his own room. During dinner, his Lordship and his party were very busy about

the Fort, and carried off about eighty guns belonging to the North-West Company. An order was then issued to all our men to carry all their canoes into the Fort, and break up their camp, no one being allowed to encamp or remain any longer on this side of the river. His Lordship asked me if I knew the proprietors who were under confinement. I answered in the affirmative. He told me it was necessary they should all be placed in one house, and pointed out the wintering house, to the right of the mess house, as one that would answer the purpose. He requested me to accompany his constable, McNabb, to get the gentlemen together and convey them to their new prison. I took the liberty to observe to his Lordship that I should find it rather a difficult task to act in concert with his constable against my employers, and begged to be excused accepting such a degrading office. His Lordship said he had plenty people of his own to perform this duty, but that perhaps they would do it in a less delicate manner. I answered his Lordship, that as for that I had not the least doubt, but could not possibly comply with his request. Soon after I saw John McDonald conducted by an armed force, from his own room to the wintering house ; Allan McDonell was conducted thither in the same manner ; and in a few moments after I had the mortification to see Mr. McGillivray turned out of his private room, with his baggage, and carried away also, guarded by an armed force with fixed bayonets, to the winter house. The mess-house being now cleared of all our gentlemen I went in, and found a person of the name of Lorimier, one Chatelain and the well known Williamson, all three agents of his Lordship, regaling themselves in the larder.

"After this a new warrant was issued for searching the private rooms of the gentlemen who were in prison, to seize all arms, under the frivolous pretext that information had been given that a quantity of papers had been burnt the night before and a number of arms concealed. I accompanied the searchers to every room ; John McDonald's room, being locked, was forcibly broken open with an axe by the constable and his party.

"The search, sealing of papers and trunks, seizure of arms, etc., lasted past twelve o'clock at night. These articles were all sealed in my presence, and next to the Earl's seal I put mine. They were carried to his Lordship's apartment in the mess-house. An order was issued on the evening of

the 14th, in the Earl's name, that after nine no one should appear out of doors under any pretext whatever. One of our men having been out fishing, returned in the morning with a load of fish which was immediately seized and distributed among his Lordship's people. No business was allowed to be carried on that day in the Fort, and all access to the gentlemen in prison strictly prohibited. The whole of his Lordship's people encamped before the Fort, and all the North-West Company's servants were driven across the river and were not permitted to enter the Fort, even to receive their rations, without an order from one of the military to the sentinel. The most abusive language was made use of towards us by these soldiers, who seemed to be thirsting for tumult and bloodshed. Two loaded pieces of artillery were placed before the gate of the Fort and commanded the opposite shore, to keep our people there in awe. About ten o'clock, a m , the Earl proceeded to examine the prisoners, on whose behalf Lieutenant's Missani and Brumby and Captain Matthy were nominated as members of the court, and on the Earl's behalf, Mr. McNabb, Lorimier and another ; Dr. Allan and Spencer acted as clerks. It is worthy of observation that Mr. Spencer was a prisoner, and was to be tried before the Court of King's Bench in Montreal the following month. The examination lasted till seven in the evening without interruption. Daniel McKenzie's examination was postponed till the morning ; several of our men were dragged from their huts and lodged in prison.

"On the 18th, in the afternoon, canoes and crews were ready to go to Montreal with the prisoners. Their baggage was taken out of the Fort and exposed on the wharf. Before the gentlemen embarked they were condemned to pass through a ceremony, which may in itself be considered a most cruel punishment. They were, one after another, carried from the prison to his Lordship's tent, which had been emptied for the purpose, and here their baggage was opened and strictly searched. Some papers which, when the first search was made, were said to be of no consequence, their testimentary depositions and their money were taken from them without mercy, and under the smiles of Captain D'Orsennens. After this two soldiers were ordered to search their persons, and one of them had the impudence to put his hands into the pockets of Dr. McLaughlin's trousers. Mr. McGillivray suffered very much from this harsh and un-

worthy treatment, which was aggravated by Lord Selkirk refusing to let his own servant go with him. After this they were sent off in three canoes, and a fourth followed with soldiers as a guard." Vandersluys goes on to say: "All our brave and faithful men, who were spectators of their departure, were silent as the grave, not from any awe of Lord Selkirk's overwhelming power or of his military precautions and martial law, but from the natural feelings of their hearts, the unaltered respect they bore their masters, and from the remembrance of their kindness.

"The North-West clerks in charge at Fort William, applied to his Lordship for permission to send off their canoes, both to the interior with goods for the Indian trade and the furs to Montreal, but his Lordship did not condescend to return an answer to their request. The same request was pressed on his Lordship in an interview which we had with him after the partners had been sent off. His Lordship pretended that he could not authorize this without being provided with our invoices of the goods intended for the interior, and, although we were convinced he had no right to ask such a thing, yet we complied with it, not in consideration of his person nor through servile fear and obedience to his unlawful demands, but for the benefit of the North-West Company's trade, and in order to secure the utmost despatch. When he was in possesion of the invoices he demanded to see the goods. We took this as a favourable omen, and expected that our entreaties would no longer be laughed at, but ultimately complied with. In this, however, as well as in all that he did, he acted hypocritically; and this is the man who boasts of the protection he has afforded the North-West Company's property by not suffering his soldiers to pillage. On being shown into the stores his Lordship was very curious to know the tariff; but I told him I could not justify myself in complying with his request. I pressed his Lordship for his early decision with regard to the despatch of the goods. In his evasive way he gave me some faint hopes, but he meant nothing by it beyond killing time. Under pretence of a search warrant, McNabb and McPherson got possession of the keys of the stores and warehouses. I demanded to see this warrant, which demand was very reluctantly complied with. After perusing it, I observed to them that they had acted contrary to the tenor of their warrant, and that I therefore protested against their taking pos-

session of the keys, and urged the postponing the search till next day; that the warrant very distinctly stated that the constables should enter in the day time into the North-West Company's stores and warehouses and there search, etc., but the warrant by no means authorized them to seize the keys of those buildings in the middle of the day and carry them off. Therefore, I insisted on the keys being immediately returned, and those of the provision store being still in my possession, I resolutely refused to give them up, and declared I should hold those who had the superintendance of those stores answerable for the consequence in case they gave way to the illegal demands of the constables. McPherson went then for the Earl, who came in a great passion enquiring who had opposed those keys being put into the custody of his constables. I came forward and told him it was I, and that so long as I remained in charge of the North-West Company's concerns, I never would sanction such illegal actions; that I did not by any means intend to oppose the executions of legal warrants or obstruct legal measures adopted by him in his capacity as magistrate; but, that at the same time my duty was imperative, and that as long as I had the power I would stand forward to protect the property entrusted to my care against any illegal attack. The Earl then frivolously pretended that this warrant could have no effect without his being in possession of all the keys, adding that he had studied the laws of his country too well not to know them better than a foreigner. I observed that my being a foreigner had never been against me in the eyes of every man of sense, and that I certainly confessed I was not lawyer enough to see and to explain in how far he could in this case and upon this warrant extend his authority, but that nothing could be plainer than that an order to enter in the day time into a certain place, and there to search for certain goods, could not be explained to mean to seize all the keys of such place and carry them off. He threatened that if the keys were not at once given up that he would force them from me by military force and coercion. I told him that they should not be put in his possession until he did so, and I insisted on the warrant being put in execution without delay; that it was full day-light (half-past four p.m) and that I was ready to give his constables access to any place that he desired to search. My determination had the desired effect;

his Lordship lowered his tone, and we proceeded to examine the provision store, where none of the goods sought after were found, and the keys of these buildings remained with me. It being now too late to search the other buildings, I agreed with the constables that all the keys should remain this night in my possession in a box, of which they should have the key, which was agreed to by them; and that we should resume on the following morning at six o'clock.

"Among other representations made the next morning to the Earl we told him that if our men remained eight days longer on the ground we should be short of provisions, and that our fishermen being prevented from pursuing their avocations, very much contributed to diminish the stock of provisions on hand; but, as usual, our remonstrances had no effect—indeed, no notice had been taken of them.

"The Earl now occupied two rooms in the mess-house. Two soldiers, with fixed bayonets, were stationed in the hall when we took our meals.

"At this time, 20th of August, 1816, there were in the fur shed at York Factory from forty to fifty packs of furs marked "R. R.", which had been taken from the North-West Company's storehouse the previous year at Fort Gibraltar and at Pembina.

"Before six o'clock on the following morning we proceeded to search the stores for the furs stolen. Upon entering the fur store they found a vast quantity of peltries, some packed and others not. They saw the difficulty of their enterprise, and in order to put it off and to kill time and to throw the North-West Company's concerns into confusion, new and arbitrary orders were issued by Lord Selkirk to search the stores again, which had been gone through, under the pretext that furs, papers, or other articles might be concealed in the bales of dry goods. I, however, refused to admit them again, as they had once already in their capacity of constables declared that they were satisfied the objects of their search were not there. The Earl issued new warrants of the same tenor as the one mentioned with the addition of the indefinite words 'and various other articles.' I had been at one of the warehouses where they were searching for papers or arms in suspicious places, as they thought proper to call them, and all this authorized, instigated and ordered by a man vested with the dignity of

a magistrate and who has the honor of being a Peer of the realm of Great Britain. But, unfortunately, the magistrate was lost in the prosecutor, violent opposer and interested rival in trade who, backed by a ferocious and lawless soldiery, used the law in so far as it answered his own selfish purposes. The bales packed up for embarkation were cut open, in which, it was clearly evident nothing they were searching for could be concealed. Certainly their warrants did not authorize them to take inventories of the contents; but this was done, and done to promote Lord Selkirk's mercantile views. Everything was turned upside down and left in a confused heap. I remonstrated against their conduct, but they laughed at me. Lord Selkirk's presence with his troops, and the absence of all law and order, supported them in this behaviour. Captain Matthy and McPherson were the actors in this disgraceful scene. John McGillivray and two other gentlemen arrived from the interior. On entering the gate they were stopped and in a few minutes after a warrant was served on John McGillivray making him a prisoner. These gentlemen were deprived of their baggage, probably for the purpose of being examined. But why put off this till another day and keep these prisoners just arrived from a voyage, and a very long one, from their clean linen and other comforts, just to please Lord Selkirk and to suit his and and his constables' convenience? Mr. Tait, who had the superintendance of the buildings and farm, represented to his Lordship, that his people had carried off and burnt a great part of the pickets and fences. Lord Selkirk replied that it was what might be expected when they were not supplied with fuel

"I went to see the Earl on the morning of the 21st, and mentioned to him that the dry goods stores had been searched a second time, so that there could be no longer any obstacle to sending off our goods; but, as usual, new pretexts and new difficulties were started, and in consequence of this we sent him, in the afternoon at four o'clock, a protest.

"Bail was offered on the same day for Daniel McKenzie, but refused. Early in the morning a canoe arrived from Montreal, with dispatches for the Company; they were taken from the guide and put into the custody of a soldier of the 37th Regiment. When informed of this I addressed the Earl of Selkirk as follows:—

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Selkirk, Justice of the Peace.

My. Lord,—Whereas a canoe arrived this morning from Montreal with despatches for the North-West Company, and which have been taken by Captain Matthy from the bearer of them and placed under the charge of a sentinel, we take the liberty to apply to your Lordship in order to know the reason of such proceedings, and to have the aforesaid despatches delivered to us.

"After breakfast his Lordship sent word that he wanted to see us. He informed us that the despatches had been seized upon the same principle as the other papers of the North-West Company, and were equally liable to be examined. I questioned the legality of this, as the despatches could not have been included in his former warrant, and no new one having been served. He also communicated to us that he had received our protest of the previous day, adding that we were ourselves greatly the cause of the delay which was put to the forwarding of the goods, for not having put him in possession of the invoices of the goods intended for the interior. The mask is only torn as yet; it will soon be completely thrown off. At this interview he handed in the following letter:—

Fort William, Aug. 22nd, 1816.

Gentlemen,—In order to obviate the possibility of any mistake, I beg to have your answer in writing to this query. Whether the thirty-four packs of furs marked R R., which you have pointed out as those set apart by order of the agents of the North-West Company, are to be given up to the Hudson's Bay Company as their property, and whether on this principle, you are ready to send them down to Montreal, consigned to Messrs. Maitland, Gardner & Auldjo, agents of that Company?

I am, &c., &c.,

Selkirk.

To J. C. McTavish and Jasper Vandersluys.

"The following answer was given:—

In reply to the letter which was handed to us this morning, personally, by your Lordship, we beg to state that the thirty-four packs of furs marked R.R., which have been set apart from the peltries of the N.W.Co., cannot be given up as H.B.Co's property, but that we are ready to send them down to Montreal to the care of some house unconnected with both Companies.

"We received word that his Lordship intended to proceed to the examination of the box with the despatches, which was done accordingly. The contents were principally the Proclamation of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, and a few private letters which his Lordship took into his own private keeping."

Here we shall, for the benefit of our readers, add a verbatum copy of the Proclamation, viz :—

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, in and by a certain statute of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, made and passed in the forty-third year of His Majesty's Reign, entitled 'An Act for extending the jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice in the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, for the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences within certain parts of North America, adjoining to the said Provinces:" It is, amongst other things, enacted and declared that from and after the passing of the said statute, 'All offences committed within any of the Indian Territories, or parts of America not within the limits of either of the said Provinces of Lower or Upper Canada, or of any Civil Government of the United States of America, shall be and be deemed to be offences of the same nature, and shall be tried in the same manner and subject to the same punishment as if the same had been committed within the Provinces of Lower or Upper Canada; And whereas, under and by virtue of the above in part recited statute, Justices of the Peace have been duly nominated and appointed, with power and authority to apprehend within the Indian Territories aforesaid, and to convey to this Province of Lower Canada for trial, all and every person and persons guilty of any crime or offence whatsoever; And whereas, there is reason to believe that divers breaches of the peace by acts of force and violence, have lately been committed within the aforesaid Indian Territories and the jurisdiction of the aforesaid Justices of the Peace; I have, therefore, thought, by and with the advice of His Majesty's Executive Council of and for the Province of Lower Canada, to issue this Proclamation for the purpose of bringing to punishment all persons who may have been or shall be guilty of any such act or acts of force or violence as aforesaid, or of other crime and offence whatsoever, and to deter all others from following their pernicious example, hereby requiring all His Majesty's subjects, and others within the said Indian Territories, to avoid and to discourage all acts of force and violence whatsoever, and all proceedings whatever tending to produce tumults and riots, or in any way to disturb the public peace.

And I do hereby strictly charge and command all Justices of the Peace, as aforesaid, nominated and appointed under and by the above mentioned statute, and all Magistrates throughout this Province, and do require all others His Majesty's subjects generally, in their respective stations, to make search to discover, apprehend and commit, or cause to be committed to lawful custody for trial in due course of law, pursuant to the provisions in the above mentioned statute contained, all persons who have been or shall be guilty of any act or acts of force and violence as aforesaid, or of any other crime or crimes, offence or offences, within the said Indian Territories, to the end that the laws may be carried into prompt execution against all such offenders for the preservation of the peace and good order therein.

Given under my hand and seal at the Castle of St. Louis, in the City of Quebec, in the said Province of Lower Canada, the sixteenth day of July, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, and in the fifty-sixth year of His Majesty's Reign.

(Signed) J. C. SHERBROOKE.

By His Excellency's command,

JOHN TAYLOR, Deputy Secretary.

Quebec Gazette.

Having set the Governor General's Proclamation and the transactions which had already taken place at Fort William before the reader, we shall follow the North-West Company gentlemen in their long, disagreeable and dangerous voyage to the prisons in Canada, to which his Lordship's warrants had consigned them. They were embarked in three of their own canoes, a fourth followed with a score or so of De-Meuron soldiers to prevent their escape. One of the canoes has been represented as greatly inferior in size to the canoes ordinarily used in navigating the great lakes. In this canoe twenty-one persons had been embarked; three of these were partners, viz., Kenneth McKenzie, Allan McDonell and Dr. John McLaughlin. They had proceeded some distance on their way towards Sault St. Marie, when, making a traverse, they were overtaken by a storm. The canoes had to change their course, but before they could make the land the smallest canoe sunk, and unfortunately seven of the crew and Mr. McKenzie, one of the passengers, were drowned. The rest were picked up and saved. For some reasons, the guards were ordered to convey them to Sandwich, in the west district of Upper Canada, where warrants directed their committal to the common gaol. However, after a tedious journey on their route to Sandwich, they had to pass through Little York (the Toronto of to-day), and the Judges and Attorney-General being on their circuit at Kingston, the Governor ordered the guards to take them thither.

The Judges, finding the crimes with which the prisoners were charged in the warrants, were alleged to have been committed in the Indian Territories, the Governor directed them to be taken to Montreal. On their arrival there they were brought to trial before the Court of King's Bench; the most vindictive arguments were urged for their commitment. The crimes imputed to them were no less than high treason, conspiracy and murder. However, they were, without hesitation, admitted to bail; and thus frustrated his Lordship's plan for subjecting his commercial rivals to a long and degrading imprisonment.

At the time of these troubles, Canada was divided into two Provinces. The Governor General had his residence at Quebec, the seat of military power. What is now known as Ontario was then, to a great extent, an unknown, pathless wilderness, without any facilities for land travelling; so travellers had to perform their journeys in canoes by the circuitous water communication afforded by the lakes and rivers, requiring months to perform journeys that can now be accomplished in a few days. Sir John Sherbroke did not like to act without consulting Mr. Gore, the Civil Governor of the Upper Province; and the Civil Governor could not undertake any responsibility until he had first obtained the Governor-in-Chief's advice. This unsatisfactory state of affairs necessarily created great delay, and Mr. William McGillivray saw that the navigation would be closed before any measures could be taken, in consequence of the meeting of the two Governors. He determined to follow the ordinary legal process for redress; warrants were granted by a magistrate of the western district of Upper Canada, on evidence of Lord Selkirk's outrages, and Mr. Smith, the under Sheriff, with an assistant, was ordered to carry them into execution. Mr. Smith proceeded forthwith to join M. de Rocheblave at the Sault, but so much time had been lost in making these various arrangements that the plan was entirely frustrated by the lateness of the season. M. de Rocheblave with his party reached the Sault St. Marie on the nineteenth day of October, and having no information of the proceedings at Quebec or in Upper Canada, as a preliminary measure, he sent on to Fort William a constable and twelve men, with criminal warrants issued against Lord Selkirk and the DeMeuron officers, by Dr. Mitchel, of St. Joseph's. The constable arrived at Fort Willian on the seventh November, and executed the warrant by arresting Lord Selkirk and the foreign officers. At first his Lordship hesitated at the course he should pursue, but, possibly, considering he had gone too far to recede, and knowing the constable had not

sufficient force to compel his submission, he refused obedience to his authority and made the constable prisoner, placing him under a guard of soldiers for a few days, after which he was ordered to leave the Fort. M. de Rocheblave and his party, on account of the lateness of the season and scarcity of provisions, had to set out on their return to Canada. In Lake Huron they met the Sheriff, Mr. Smith, on his way to join them. They immediately returned to the Sault and embarked on board the North-West schooner, the *Invincible*, to cross Lake Superior. A gale of wind ensuing, the scohooner was totally wrecked on the 13th November. The crew and passengers were saved, but having no other conveyance and being unable to continue their attempt to reach Fort William, they were obliged to return, and arrived at Montreal on the 23rd December, after a most fatiguing journey performed chiefly on foot.

The noble Earl having, as we have seen above, summarily disposed of the constable and his men, remained "monarch of all he saw" in quiet possession of the North-West Company's chief depôt with all its accumulated stores of trading goods and provisions, and like a skilful commander extended his depredatory excursions to the surrounding trading posts taking forcible possession of their contents and carrying the gentlemen, whom he found in charge of these different places, into captivity, not even sparing the trading post at Fond du Lac, on the River St. Louis, which falls into the west end of Lake Superior, near the place where the present Town of Duluth stands within American Territory, as recognized by former and recent treaties. Mr. Grant who was in charge was taken prisoner and deprived of the property in his possession; although the merchandise at that station had paid duties to the American Government and was jointly the property of the North-West Company and of American citizens who were interested in this part of the trade. While a party of his Lordship's mercenaries were engaged in plundering the Fort on the River St. Louis,

another party was dispatched to the east along the north shore of the great lake; the Forts at the Pic and at Michipicoton became their prey—Mr. McIntosh, the partner in charge, and his clerks were made prisoners and the goods were taken possession of for his Lordship's benefit. Messrs. McIntosh, Grant and a few others of their fellow partners were sent down to Montreal under the flimsy pretence that they had been aiding and abetting in the troubles of the previous spring at Red River, but, we believe, the true reason for their captivity and banishment from their charges to have been very different. During M. de Rocheblave's detention at the Sault, waiting for the Sheriff, a party of DeMeurons' soldiers arrived with McIntosh, Grant and others in custody, on their way to Canada, in canoes belonging to the North-West Company and navigated by their servants. M. de Rocheblave took the canoes from the DeMeurons' guard but did not further interfere with them or with their prisoners. These last proceeded, however, on their own justification, and surrendered themselves to the authorities in Lower Canada, and were admitted to bail on the accusations preferred against them.

While the above recited transactions were taking place to the south and to the east of Fort William, his Lordship was not unmindful of the North-West. He sent a party of DeMeurons and voyageurs, under the command of Mr. Fiddler, to capture the Fort at Lac la Pluie, on the communication to the interior, and next in importance to Fort William. The clerk in charge of the Fort refused to surrender it, and as Mr. Fiddler was not prepared with sufficient force to obtain possession, he was obliged to return to Fort William. His Lordship, to remedy this failure, sent off Captain D'Orsonnens with a party of soldiers and two field pieces.

Mr. Dease, the clerk in charge, had a force of seven men under his command; these had to support themselves by fishing. D'Orsonnen's blockade deprived them of their

usual supply of food—and the Captain sent them word that a timely surrender would be their best policy as further resistance might enrage his men to such a degree that he could not be answerable for their conduct.

Weighing the chances the besieged agreed to a timely surrender and opened their gates. The besiegers took unconditional possession of the Fort with all the merchandise it contained, which the owners valued at several thousand pounds sterling. In possession of the Fort on Lac la Pluie, situated midway between Lake Superior and Red River, his Lordship's Lieutenant could easily keep open his communication with Fort William in his rear, and mature his plans at leisure for the invasion of the North-West Company's trading posts on the Red River; the retaking of Fort Douglas, and the re-establishment of the colony—the avowed object of his Lordship's great military expedition to the far west. Captain D'Orsonnens had the North-West Company's stores at command, and he dealt them out liberally to the Indians to purchase their friendship and assistance in his intended winter journey to Red River. All things being ready, he set out in the month of February, travelling by the Rainy River and Lake of the Woods ; thence conducted by Indian guides, they passed through the forests that intervene between that Lake and the Red River. On reaching Red River they followed its course northwards for a distance of twenty or thirty-five miles, at the end of which they turned to the west and came to the Assinniboine, somewhere in what is now known as the Parish of St. James. Here they spent some time in making scaling ladders, and thus provided themselves with the means of getting over the defences that surrounded what was then known as Fort Douglas (otherwise "the Colony Fort.") A favourable opportunity for the accomplishment of the object of their long and toilsome journey soon presented itself in a stormy night, when the howling winds drowned every other sound, and when the thickly falling

and drifting snow obscured the sight and concealed the enemy's approach, until he had not only planted his ladders on the outside of the stockade, but until he had ascended to their top and was in the act of planting others on the inside, on which these practiced and well trained veterans descended in a moment into the Fort, when the gallant sentinels, terrified at the sight, ignominiously threw down their weapons of war and fled into the house, followed by their assailants who made prisoners of all who fell into their hands. Among these was Mr. Archibald McLellan whom they afterwards sent to Canada to take his trial for his imputed or real participation in the Keveny murder. The common Jacks were after a few days turned out of the place, and at full liberty to go where their inclinations led them and to hunt for their subsistence wherever they might think proper. Very fortunately for these poor men, many of the Freemen were hunting near the river and fishing in its waters who received their destitute friends into their tents and fed them till the spring.

His Lordship's proceedings at Fort William may be considered an episode in the history of the Red River, as a sequence to the feuds which originated there and disturbed the peace of that part of the country during the preceding three or four years. We deemed it our duty to give our readers a brief sketch of these extraordinary transactions; and having done so we will return to the colonists whom we left on the sterile rocks at Jack River. We have stated that on leaving Red River they had decided on bidding farewell to the country and to all who were in it, for to them it had proved a land of unmitigated misery and dismay, and for the purpose of carrying out their intention they addressed a letter, asking for a passage to Scotland, to Mr. James Bird, who on Mr. Semple's death, by seniority, or on some previous arrangement made by the Company to meet such contingency, became superintendent of the northern department. Mr. Bird in his answer pleaded his

inability to provide a passage for them, as there was no certainty that a ship of sufficient capacity to accommodate so many passengers would arrive that season in the Bay, and in the absence of such probability their best policy would be to remain where they were as their condition would be incomparably worse if reduced to the necessity of wintering on the bleak shores of Hudson's Bay. Future events proved this advice to be both timely and wise. The *Britania*, a ship of considerable burden, arrived rather late in the season at York Factory. Notwithstanding she delivered her cargo and received the returns of the preceding season and sailed with a considerable number of servants, whose contracts had expired and were desirous of returning to Europe—but, on reaching the Straits, they found that stern winter had bound the seas in his icy fetters. The good ship returned to the land and was run ashore forty or fifty miles north of the mouth of the Severn River, and was towards the spring accidentally burnt to the water's edge. Immediately on her reaching the shore the passengers had to march for York Factory, and as the provision stores were but scantily supplied in those days of "penny wise and pound foolish" economy, the servants who had returned from the ship had to make the best of their way inland. If our colonists had been on board that ship, viz: tender females and young children, the reader may form some faint idea of what their sufferings would have been. The colonists, though much against their will, made up their minds to pass the winter at Jack River.

There they had to prepare abodes to protect their families from the inclemency of that sub-arctic region, where Farenheit's thermometer has been known to indicate, at times, from fifty to fifty-five degrees below zero, during the winter months. Twine had to be bought, nets had to be made, and fish had to be procured for their daily subsistence, which, unfortunately, often fell far short of what their necessities required. However, there was no remedy, for here there

were no stores of provisions to draw supplies from when the fish taken were too few, or when, on account of high winds, they could not visit their nets. Still, they had to labor on at their buildings until they were finished. The next and most important work to be undertaken was what is termed "the fall fishing," which commences about the tenth of October and is carried on for two or three weeks. At this season the white fish leave the deep waters, where they pass the rest of the year, and approach the shores of the lake for the purpose of depositing their spawn in shallow water, when they are taken in great numbers, not only in Lake Winnipeg, but in all the great lakes throughout the North-West Territories. Our refugees laboured under great disadvantages. They were unacquainted with the use of the paddle and the management of the frail birch canoe—the only kind of craft used for fishing throughout the country. The work itself was altogether new to them. It is said, and truly said, that "necessity is the mother of invention," and our friends verified the saying. In a short time they gained considerable knowledge in the art of fishing; they spared no labour, and by unwearied perseverance managed to store up for winter use a considerable number of white fish, the very best of the kind in the country. Yet they did not take enough to render winter fishing unnecessary. Some years this source of supply was precarious, owing to causes not yet fully understood by the most experienced fishermen. However, this winter the fishing proved favourable, as some fish were taken twice or thrice each week in the nets set under ice. On the whole, there was no very great suffering for want of food. But there were other wants which pressed on this sorely tried people, and wants which could only be supplied at great cost. Most of the outfit which they had brought into the country had been used up during the past twelve months, and what of it remained was of two light a texture to be of much service in the severe climate where they had to pass the winter. Their urgent necessities com-

pelled them to take advances from his Lordship's stores. At that time goods were purchased in England at war prices, and were retailed, in this country, to servants and colonists, at an average advance of 100 to 150 per cent. on prime cost. Here began the debt which so severely taxed the industry and frugality of the colonists to pay when blessed with more favourable times. Despairing of being able to return to their native land, we may believe that the accounts which they heard of his Lordship's success at Fort William and the apparent overthrow of the North-West Company's power, at least for a season, would be to the exiles tidings of great joy, as likely to give them some chance of re-occupying the lands of which they had taken possession in the preceding spring, and from which they had been so summarily and unceremoniously ejected. The wheel of fortune seemed to have taken a turn in their favor.

We have related that Captain D'Orsonnens and his party recaptured Fort Douglas. The fame of the above exploit spread like wild fire over the country. A special messenger was dispatched to Jack River to bear the welcome tidings to the fugatives, inviting them to return, and setting before them the prospect of protection and security in future. To this invitation these distressed people gladly responded, and a few of the men set out at once for Red River, where they safely arrived before the breaking up of the ice. But, as usual, provisions were very scarce. Great privation and its consequent attendant, discontent, prevailed among the various classes who had to depend on empty stores for their daily support. However, as the spring advanced the snows of winter disappeared, wild fowl became abundant in every marsh and pond, and soon after the ice on the river broke up and was carried off by the weight and force of the accumulated waters poured in by its numerous tributaries from the east and from the west.

The river being freed of ice, fish of various kinds ascended the stream in swarms, thus affording for the present abund-

ance of nutritious food to the half famished multitude that an extraordinary series of events had congregated from all parts of the country in and around Fort Douglas.

The few settlers who were at the place commenced farming operations. The hoe was the only implement at their service, and with it each one applied himself heartily to the work and managed to sow a few gallons of wheat and barley, and planted a few pecks of potatoes each. The presence of the few veterans, who had in the depth of winter travelled so far on snow shoes and retaken his Lordship's Fort, with the information that the Earl was on his way to the colony with a force, all of which they understood were to be located near the Fort for its protection and for the general defence of the settlement, reassured them. This apparantly favourable change in their affairs gave some guarantee of personal safety and a rational hope that they would both reap and enjoy the fruits of their labours. But in the meantime, returning wants had to be provided for; the abundance that spread lately over the land and filled the waters disappeared by degrees. The feathered tribes re-removed to their breeding grounds. After the spawning season, the sturgeon, in particular, forsook the river and retired to the deep waters in Lake Winnipeg.

The buffalo had left the vicinity of the forests to pasture on the open and almost illimitable plains of the Missouri followed only by their ancient enemies, the red man and the wolf—for the half-breeds had not yet organized themselves into those great hunting parties which afterwards became so formidable to the savages inhabiting, or rather wandering over the plains north of the Missouri, and nearly annihilated the buffalo. Scarcity of food began to be felt by settlers and and by soldiers. In the month of June the residue of those who had passed the winter at Jack River returned. His Lordship with his DeMeurons and some scores of voyageurs arrived in the colony about the same time.

To supply with food the multitude of human beings congregated in and around Fort Douglas would be no light undertaking at any time, but more so, under existing circumstances. The North-West Traders, though shorn of much of their former importance and power in the estimation of the native population, still retained sufficient influence over the French Metis (*Bois-Brules*) to keep them from taking the produce of their hunt to the colony people, so that the only supply obtained by them, besides the few fish taken from the river, was from the Indians, and amounted only to an occasional trifle of venison procured by these friendly people within easy reach of the place. In this dire condition the unfortunate settlers had to provide for themselves; fish being their principal support. When that failed they had to imitate His Majesty of Babylon, when he had been driven from men, viz : to eat grass. Nettles and other herbs had for days and sometimes even for weeks to be resorted to to appease the cravings of hunger. Yet, under the privations, his Lordship's arrival with his DeMeurons in the colony cheered their hitherto desponding spirits by proving to them how deeply he was interested in their safety and prosperity, which made them, in a great measure, forget their past suffering and miseries in the prospect of peace being established throughout the regions where lawlessness and crime reigned triumphant before.

Frequent appeals had been made during the troubles to the Governor-General, and to the Imperial Gevernment, by the agents of the North-West Company, for protection to their traders against the extraordinary proceedings of the English Company's servants. But the evidence taken before courts of justice in Canada of the many robberies committed by the agents of the chartered company, the brutal massacre by the French half-breeds on the 19th of June, 1816, and his Lordship's high-handed and unjustifiable proceedings at Fort William, pointed out clearly to the Imperial authorities, not only the desirableness, but the

necessity of restoring peace in the Indian Territories; and for the accomplishment of that object, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent instructed Earl Bathurst to use the means at his disposal to put an end to these enormities, and in compliance with these instructions His Lordship sent the following dispatch to the Governor General of Canada, under date 6th February, 1817:—

"You will also require under similar penalties the restitution of all Forts, buildings or trading stations, with the property which they contain, which may have been seized or taken possession of by either party, to the party who originally established or constructed the same, and who were in possession of them previous to the recent disputes between the two companies. You will require also the removal of any blockade or impediment by which any party may have attempted to prevent the free passage of traders or others of His Majesty's subjects or the natives of the country with their merchandize, furs, provisions and other effects throughout the lakes, rivers, roads and every other usual route or communication heretofore used for the purpose of the fur trade in the interior of North America, and the full and free permission of all persons to pursue their usual and accustomed trade without hinderance or molestation."

And in conclusion this object is again peremptorily insisted on, viz:—

"The mutual restoration of all property captured during these disputes, and the freedom of trade and intercourse with the Indians, until the trials now pending can be brought to a judicial decision, and the great question at issue with respect to the rights of the companies shall be definitely settled."

On receipt of the above instructions, the Governor General appointed, immediately, Colonel Coltman and Major Fletcher, two military gentlemen of high respectability, to act as Commissioners in the Indian Territories, to cause restitution to be made of Forts and property, and to commit the guilty of both parties for trial.

These gentlemen left Montreal on the opening of the navigation, in May, 1817, and proceeded by the usual route to the interior. However, before they had arrived at Fort William, that important depôt had been restored to its lawful owners, in virtue of a writ of restitution issued by the Magistrates of Upper Canada, and directed to the Sheriff. In March, before, the Sheriff's authority had been resisted and his person imprisoned by Lord Selkirk, and it was not till after his Lordship had left Fort William and the North-West Com-

pany's canoes had arrived, that the Sheriff had been released and enabled officially to take possession of the place and property, and restore them to their original possessors. The under Sheriff had his redress, for he obtained five hundred pounds damages against Lord Selkirk for resisting him in the execution of a writ of restitution founded upon a verdict obtained at Sandwich, in 1816, and resistance also to a warrant for his Lordship's arrest. The Commissioners, (Coltman and Fletcher,) in course of time arrived at Fort Douglas, before his Lordship had left the place, and proceeded without delay to execute their commission by compelling each party to restore, so far as restitution could be made, the property taken from their opponents.

The Hudson's Bay Company regained possession of their establishment in February, by the DeMeurons. The North-West Company's Fort had been razed to the ground, and could not be restored; but that active and energetic body procured new materials, built houses and stores on the old site and commenced business anew. The Hudson's Bay Company, of which his Lordship of Selkirk was the great moving spirit, received some very important lessons in the slaughter of the 19th of June, 1816, in the expensive law-suits that followed that event, and, above all, in the instructions given to Commissioners Coltman and Fletcher, which declared, unmistakeably, that the Imperial Government considered each of the great trading companies entitled alike to its protection. His Lordship, after his arrival in the colony, commenced locating his DeMeurons, and for their accommodation Point Douglas was surveyed into a number of lots, each containing a few acres, and bordering on the river; a wide street, running from the apex to the high-way, being set apart for their common use, affording access to the common which lay beyond the road, in which the settlers on the point had a right of pasturage and of hay-making.

After Point Douglas had been appropriated a number of his Lordship's troops were still without land. These had to take land on the east side of the Red River opposite to Point Douglas. All were paid and rationed, for a time, by his Lordship. The non-commissioned officers were settled on land among the soldiers; the superior officers lived at headquarters and became members of the Colonial Council.

His Lordship disposed to the best advantage of the small military force which he settled in the colony for its protection. On a signal being made at headquarters, a few minutes would enable the force to join their commanding officers, rally round their standards and be ready for either attack or defence. His Lordship having provided for the military protection of his colony, had other subjects of the greatest importance to attend to. The colonists, as we have already stated, had hitherto met with nothing but a series of disappointments and unparalled sufferings. Humanity and policy dictated to his Lordship, not only the necessity, but the wisdom of dealing liberally with them; and now the time had arrived when he had an opportunity of giving some proof of his appreciation of their endurance and perseverance; and for the accomplishment of that object he invited the colonists to meet him on a certain day in the centre of the incipient colony—which, in August, 1817, was the lot on which Saint John's Cathedral now stands.

On the appointed day the settlers of all ages and sexes hastened to the place eager to enjoy the honour of being taken by the hand by their great and noble patron, and to hear from his own lips a confirmation of the great promises made to them by his agents before they had left their native land. The following were some of them:—

First.—They were to enjoy the services of a minister of religion who was to be of their own persuasion.

Second.—Each settler was to receive 100 acres of land at five shillings per acre payable in produce.

Third.—They were to have a market in the colony for their surplus produce.

Fourth.—They were to enjoy all the privileges of British subjects.

The second article was immediately fulfilled. Each head of family was put in possession of one hundred acres of land, and to compensate in some small degree for their sufferings and loss, he gave the land free of all charges.

The third and fourth were never fulfilled. The immigrants attached far more importance to the fulfilment of the first promise than they did to the fulfilment of all the other promises taken together, as on the ministrations of a clergyman of their own persuasion, they firmly believed, depended their present well-being and future happiness. However, his Lordship did, on the present occasion, all that he could do to show them his sincere desire to make good the promise regarding the minister made by his agents.

On this occasion he made them a present of two lots of land ten chains frontage each, and addressed them, saying: "This lot on which we are met to-day shall be for your church and manse; the next lot on the south side of the creek shall be for your school and for a help to support your teacher, and in commemoration of your native parish it shall be called Kildonan,"

At this meeting an urgent application was made for the minister, and again solemnly promised by his Lordship. Yet thirty-four years had run their course before a Presbyterian Minister appeared in the colony; but, it would be doing injustice to his Lordship to believe that the non-fulfilment of his promise arose from any indifference to the subject on his part, for it is well known that, when in Montreal, he employed a Mr. John Pritchard to secure the services of a Presbyterian clergyman for the Red River colonists. This agent, employed by his Lordship, proved to be an unfortunate choice. Mr. Pritchard was an Episcopalian, and although a kind and benevolent man, he had not

the least particle of sympathy with Presbyterians or Presbyterianism, which, in some degree, may account for the non-performance of the duty assigned to him.

Unfortunately for the settlers, their noble patron was too deeply involved in litigation in the Canadian Courts with the North-West Company to leave him any time to search into his agent's conduct, or to think of the protracted disappointments of his confiding and faithful settlers.

His Lordship, soon after his arrival in the colony, convened the different bands of Indians who occupied the surrounding districts. Some of these little bands were composed of the descendants of Swampy-Crees and Saulteaux, who, at a former but rather recent period, left the forests on the east side of Lake Winnipeg to hunt the buffalo on the plains of Red River, and were known by the distinctive appellation "Nachdaweyack." Besides these, there were present a considerable number of pure Ojibois or Saulteaux, who, about the year 1790, had left the forests of Red Lake, and ever since continued to roam through the forests and over the plains that surrounded the Red River. The Crees were also represented at this great convention by their chief, who, it has been said, exerted all his influence to prevent the formation of the treaty on which his Lordship had so much set his mind. Without a proper understanding with the Indians about the land, the colonists would be continually labouring under the fear of being attacked by the thoughtless and ill-disposed portion of the surrounding savages. At this critical moment his Lordship found a true and powerful friend in Pigwis. This aged chief was not only well known, but greatly respected for his wisdon and incomparable eloquence by the various nations and tribes that occupied the country from Lake Superior to the Saskatchewan. He laboured diligently to forward his Lordship's object, by preparing the Indian mind for this memorable occasion. These people came into the colony from all quarters to meet the great chief, whose fame had preceded

him. It is always well understood when Indians congregate for the purpose of treaty making, that they must be provided for during the time the negotiations are carried on and for some time after. The present occasion was no exception to the general rule. However, after a considerable quantity of tobacco had been smoked, and full justice done by the hungry savages to his Lordship's pemican bags, the Earl appeared in lordly apparel and attended by a princely retinue. The savages were seated within the Fort enclosure, and after much tact and cunning had been used on the one part, and lengthy orations delivered by the other, the high contracting parties concluded the following treaty :—

"This indenture, made on the eighteenth day of July, in the fifty-seventh year of the reign of Our Sovereign Lord King George the Third, and in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, between the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippeway or Saulteaux Nation and of the Killistino or Cree Nation, on the one part, and the Right Honorable Thomas, Earl of Selkirk, on the other part : Witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the annual present or quit-rent hereinafter mentioned, the said Chiefs have given, granted and confirmed, and do by these presents give, grant and confirm, unto Our Sovereign Lord the King, all that tract of land adjacent to Red River and Assiniboine River, beginning at the mouth of the Red River and extending along the same as far as the Great Forks, at the mouth of Red Lake River, and along the Assiniboine River as far as Muskrat River, otherwise called Rivière des Champignons, and extending to the distance of six miles from Fort Douglas on every side, and likewise from Fort Dær (at Pembina), and also from the Great Forks, and in other parts extending in breadth to the distance of two English statute miles back from the banks of the said rivers, on each side, together with all the appurtenances whatsoever of the said tract of land, to have and to hold forever the said tract of land and appurtenances to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk and of the settlers being established thereon with the consent of Our Sovereign Lord the King, or of the said Earl of Selkirk : Provided always, and these presents are under the express condition, that the said Earl, his heirs and successors, or their agents, shall annually pay to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippeway or Saulteaux Nation the present or quit-rent, consisting of one hundred pounds weight of good marketable tobacco, to be delivered on or before the tenth day of October at The Forks of the Assiniboine River, and to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Killistino or Cree Nation a like present or quit-rent of one hundred pounds of tobacco, to be delivereed to them on or before the said tenth day of October at Portage de la Prairie, on the banks of the Assiniboine River: Provided always, that the traders hitherto established upon any part of the above-mentioned tract of land shall not be molested in the possession of the lands which they have already cultivated and improved till His Majesty's pleasure shall be known.

"In witness whereof the Chiefs aforesaid have set their marks at The Forks of the Red River on the day aforesaid.

"(Signed) SELKIRK.

"Signed in presence of Thomas Thomas; James Bird; F. Matthey, Captain; P. D'Orsonens, Captain; Miles McDonell; J. Bate; Chas. DeLorimier; Louis Nolin, Interpreter; Oucki-do-at, Big Ears; Rayagie Rebmoa, alias Black Robe; Mochew-keoacb: Macke-tu-Uxonace, Black Robe; Pigwis."

After his Lordship had, in connection with the Commissioners, attended to the restitution of the property taken by their opponents from the Hudson's Bay Company, and *vice versa*; the DeMeurons located; the colonists put in possession of land, and the Indian Treaty concluded, he bade farewell to his friends and, accompanied by a guide and a few trusty men, turned his face to the south, passed through the land of the Dakotah to Prairie des Chiens, whence he passed to the east and embarked for Europe at New York; not being desirous of visiting Canada on his return, fearing, as it has been said, becoming involved in fresh law suits with his rivals in trade.

We have stated that a few of the settlers crossed Lake Winnipeg on ice and put in some seed. Their industry was amply rewarded by the abundant crops which they reaped in harvest. These people have invariably affirmed that from one bushel of wheat sown forty was reaped; barley produced fifty-six; potatoes more than doubled that rate of increase. From various causes so very little seed had been sown that as the winter approached they were threatened by famine. To avoid this danger they resolved on passing the winter on the plains beyond Pembina.

Towards the latter end of October the settlers had to leave their primitive abodes on the the Lower Red River and embark in some Hudson's Bay Company's boats that were going to Pembina with trading goods for the trading stations on the Upper Red River. In due time they arrived at the place where they had erected their shanties in November, 1815, and here they set to work with all their energy to prepare winter abodes—expecting to make this place their headquarters, where the aged and infirm might reasonably expect

to find security and enjoy rest. Unfortunately, unforeseen events disappointed these pleasing anticipations The buffalo, on which they had to depend for their subsistence, were at a great distance in the open plains towards the Missouri, and the want of horses or even dogs to drag the buffalo beef to the shanties from the hunting tents was keenly felt. Such was the low state of their finances that they could not purchase any of these useful animals, and without their aid they could not remain any longer in the position which they took up in the beginning of winter; so, with heavy hearts and emaciated forms, they set out on their long, dangerous and laborious journey over the frozen, dreary, barren wilderness that lies between Pembina and the Côteau, or high land, that rises to the north of the Missouri, where the Indians and freemen were hunting the buffalo, where they arrived all in good health, but thoroughly way-worn and in very destitute circumstances. However, in a short time they were able to procure, not only a sufficiency for the supply of their daily recurring wants, but were able by industry and frugality to make some provisions for future emergencies.

The winter was unusually mild, and in the latter part of February the snow began to thaw under the combined influence of a bright sun and southerly winds. This change in the weather led our pilgrims to the conclusion that their wisest course would be to raise their camp and travel for some point on the Upper Red River. On their way back they met with abundance of game, for, besides numerous herds of buffalo and deer, wild fowl were plentiful in every creek and pond. After their arrival on the banks of the river their time was employed in hunting, and in preparing the necessary means of floating down the stream with their provisions after the ice would clear off, which event took place in the beginning of April. After their arrival in the settlement their first care was to obtain seed wheat, and the nearest place where any could be procured was at Bas de la

Rivière Winnipeg, where Fort Alexander now stands. The North-West Company had at that place a considerable area under cultivation on which they raised different kinds of cereals, among which were wheat and barley. Thither some of the colonists went and were successful in securing seed, but on what terms we are unable to say. After their return the hoes were put in operation, and all the seed that they had was committed to the soil. The summer was favorable, and the fields in a few days assumed a promising appearance. Everyone that sowed expected that in a short time he would reap a rich harvest; but, those unfortunate people, in the midst of all their pleasant anticipations, were assailed by a new and most formidable enemy hitherto unknown to them. On the afternoon of the 18th July, 1818, in a cloudless sky, the sun became partially obscured by clouds of flying insects, some of which were constantly falling to the earth, and between three and four o'clock in the evening the entire swarm lighted on the earth, or rather fell on it, and remained until they had deposited their ova sacks. The wheat and barley were nearly ripe, but in a few days the former was stripped of all its leaves, which deprived the berry of a considerable portion of that nutriment which nature intended for it. After the wheat has eared the plant is too hard for the grasshoppers' power, and stands uninjured. It fares very differently with the barley—they attack the plant a few inches below the head and clip it off as if cut by a pair of scissors. In this work they are such perfect adepts that, when in any great numbers, every ear in the field is on the ground in the course of a few days and left for the husbandman to gather up if he thinks proper to take the trouble to do so. In the present case the settlers were able to gather in their grain crops, but all the vegetables in the gardens were destroyed in a few hours.

While the colonists were lamenting their hard fate and hopeless condition, a few French families from Lower Canada, under the conduct of two priests, arrived in the

colony and became settlers. The arrival of these few immigrants served only, in the meantime, to increase the existing evil by creating a greater demand for food, the want of which became every day more pressing. Having gathered in what remained of their once promising crop, and stored it up carefully for future use, they began to turn their anxious thoughts towards Pembina and the places beyond, notwithstanding the remembrance of their sufferings and privations in preceding winters. Early in the autumn the settlers left the colony, and arrived safely at Pembina before the winter had set in.

The former abodes were easily re-arranged, and the very aged and the very young remained there. The strong and vigorous went to the plains beyond to hunt and to take the proceeds of their hunt to those whom they left at Pembina. Fortunately for all interested the buffalo were within a short distance, say 40 or 50 miles, from Pembina. The hunters had their tents along the Salt Rivers, where they procured abundance of food for the winter, and the means of making some provisions for the exigencies of the ensuing summer. Early in the spring of 1819 the Canadian families settled at Pembina. The Scotch families returned to their former abodes in Kildonan, and as early as the season would admit, commenced sowing and planting, but before they had finished sowing the young locusts began to appear and feed on and devour every green herb that grew on the cultivated fields and on the plains. It has been related by some of those who were here at the time that these voracious pests stripped the willows and trees of their leaves and bark. The settlers had sown and planted with great toil, and no doubt looked forward with hope to the time when their labor would be richly rewarded by an abundant harvest, but in a few short weeks they saw all their expectations destroyed. As those hatched in the colony disappeared, fresh swarms from the south-west descended on the devoted land and began pairing and depositing their ova, thus

cutting off all prospect of better times in the next year. Notwithstanding their perseverance, forethought and economy, want of food began to be severely felt by the Scotch settlers, and these fresh swarms rendered them impatient and discontented, dispairing of ever being able to make a living as agriculturists. Many of their young men had become good hunters, could travel on snow-shoes, drive dog-trains, and delighted in ornamenting both dogs and sleighs with bells and ribbons, and were in other respects falling rapidly into the free and independent habits of the hunter. Urged by necessity, they left their habitations on the Lower Red River, and went to pass the winter on the plains beyond Pembina, where we shall leave them for the present, while we narrate a transaction that took place at the Big Fall on the Sascatchewan.

In 1818, William Williams, Esquire, came from England to superintend the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company's affairs in what was then known as "The Northern Department of Rupert's Land." This gentleman had previously been a naval captain in the East India Company's service. On his arrival in Hudson's Bay, he passed a few days at York Factory, and then proceeded inland to Cumberland House, where he passed the winter months. Towards the spring, he left his winter quarters and went to Red River, where he arrived early in the month of May. Here he found a craft dignified by the name gun-boat. This vessel, after having been duly rigged and prepared, manned for lake navigation, had been armed with some field pieces, manned by Hudson's Bay Company's servants, and carried a strong body of armed DeMeurons. As soon as Lake Winnipeg opened, the gun-boat, accompanied by some river boats, whose crews were fully equipped for the campaign, left Red River, and in due time arrived at the Big Fall. Then they made preparations for intercepting the North-West Company's brigades of canoes that were soon expected to arrive from all parts of the North. Governor Williams, like a skilful commander, fixed

his headquarters on an island at the foot of the Fall. This done, the forces were assembled around the General's tent, and the charter was read and explained to them. Next in order, the Commander harangued his men to excite their military ardour, and pointed out the illegal wickedness of the Canadian traders in daring even to navigate the rivers that flowed towards Hudson's Bay. How much more ought that wicked audacity which led them to build trading posts over all the land to be reprobated and punished? Then he assured his army that if they behaved valiantly and survived the expected conflict that their wages would be increased; if wounded, they would be compensated by the Hon. Company with pensions being settled upon them for life at the same rates paid to soldiers receiving similar injuries in His Majesty's service; and if any single man chanced to be slain, the price of blood was to be paid to his father or to his relations. Married men who should perish in this meritorious strife had His Excellency's promise that their widows and orphans would be carefully watched over and provided for by the Company until able to provide for themselves.

Thus exhorted and encouraged to the performance of martial deeds, the gallant Governor and his warlike followers took possession of the portage. Ambuscades were placed at suitable points, and sentinels were placed at the upper landing; a couple of field pieces were landed and placed in position so as to bear on the river or on the cleared road over which passengers travelled and goods were carried, as circumstances might require. Being thus advantageously placed, their ardour had but little time to flag before the first brigade of the North-West Company's canoes came to the portage, of which the various parties along the road were informed by the sentinels placed at the upper landing. As soon as the canoes came to the unloading place they began putting their packs on shore. The gentlemen passengers stepped on shore, each with his *vade mecum*, the calumet in hand and cloak thrown loosely over the shoulder in

true trader style, commenced travelling over the well-known path towards the lower landing. They did not proceed far before their armed foes, hitherto concealed behind bushes and trees, surrounded them, made them prisoners and conveyed them to headquarters on the Island, where they placed them in the tender keeping of a guard of DeMeurons. In this affair five gentlemen of the first rank in the North-West Company's service were captured, viz: Messrs. Angus Shaw, John George McTavish, John Duncan Campbell, William McIntosh and a Mr. Frobisher, with a number of guides, interpreters and *batailleurs*. These prisoners were all forwarded to York Fort, on Hudson's Bay, where they were confined until the ships were ready to sail for Europe. Messrs. Shaw and McTavish were sent to England; Mr. Duncan Campbell and a number of guides and laboring men were sent by Moose Fort and the Ottawa River to Montreal. Mr. Frobisher and a few of his men were kept in durance vile at York Factory, and would, in all probability, have had to pass all the winter at that inhospitable place and in rigid confinement, had they not managed to elude the vigilance of their keepers, which they did during a dark and stormy night in the beginning of October. They found an Indian canoe along the river, into which they embarked and proceeded inland. Several posts belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company lay along their route to Lake Winnipeg. Nevertheless, they passed them unobserved and had coasted along the North end of that lake before the navigation had closed. These unfortunates were without provisions and destitute of the necessary appliances by the aid of which they might be able to procure any article. However, they struggled on, day after day, until within a few days' journey of Moose Lake, where they encamped for the night. Here they were confined to their hut for some time by a storm of wind and snow, and while in this wretched hut, poor Mr. Frobisher's life came to an end in November, 1819. When the weather moderated those who had been his companions

departed, leaving his body unburied, and in a few days reached the North-West Company's post at Moose Lake, where their wants were supplied and their lives preserved. They told the sad tale of their own sufferings and of Mr. Frobisher's miserable end.

Thus ended the last scene in the great tragedy that had been in course of acting from 1808, when Angus McDonnell, a clerk in the North-West Company's service, was shot at Red Lake by one John Mowat, a laborer in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, up to the period of which we have been writing.

We have left our Scotch settlers at Pembina and on the plains beyond that place. The buffalo, on which the multitude of half-breed settlers and Indians depended for their subsistence, were in great numbers, but kept far out in the open plains, which rendered hunting and taking the provisions to camp more laborious than at any time during the preceding year, when the cattle were near the woods; in other words near the camp, as it is in the woods only that the hunters with their families can venture to make their place of abode during the winter months. Notwithstanding the distance over which they had to draw their provisions, they had enough for winter and some to spare, which they made into pemican for summer use. In April they left the plains and arrived safely at Pembina, when, as usual, they prepared some dug-out canoes and others made of wicker frame-work covered with bull hides (these were made impervious to water with tallow well rubbed on the seams.)

When the ice had cleared off these crafts of primitive construction were launched on the stream, received their freight, and the settlers proceeded to their habitations, which they had abandoned the previous autumn, where they arrived safely in the beginning of May, 1820. They were without seed of any kind, consequently they were saved labor that would have been,under existing circumstances,unproductive. As May advanced, and the rays of the sun had communi-

cated the requisite degree of warmth to the soil, the young locusts became very numerous, so much so that they literally covered the face of the country for a distance of many miles to the south, to the west, to the east and north—to the very shore of Lake Winnipeg. As no employment could be had in the colony during the summer months, many of the young men engaged to work on his Lordship's boats employed in freighting goods from York Factory to the colony. These men were paid for their labor in goods, for which they paid from two to four hundred per cent. on the original cost in England, yet, hard as their labor was, and although poorly paid for it, they deemed themselves fortunate in being able to earn their food and raiment.

Those who remained in the settlement had to depend for their subsistence on such supplies as they could procure by fishing and hunting wild fowl, which amounted to half rations one day and to starvation the next. Wearied of this state of existence, they began to prepare for their journey to Pembina, for which place they left their summer residence in October, 1820, and arrived in due time at their hitherto city of refuge from famine.

We have related the solemn promise given by the Earl of Selkirk to the Scotch settlers when he was in the colony, in 1817, viz.: that on his arrival in Scotland he would send a Presbyterian clergyman to minister to them in the land of their adoption. Years had passed, but his Lordship's promise had not been fulfilled, and great as their disappointments, misfortunes and losses had been since they came to the Red River, all these were considered by the colonists of a light and transitory character when compared to the want of their spiritual pastor whose duty would be to minister consolation under the trials and difficulties of this mortal life, and to cherish and strengthen within them the hope of a better hereafter. We may form some idea of their surprise and disappointment on the arrival of a minister, not of their own persuasion, so often solemnly promised and so anxiously

expected, but a Missionery from the Church of England. In October, 1820, when the Rev. Mr. West made his appearance in the settlement, nearly all the people in it were members of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. West, we believe, was a pious, well-meaning man, desirous of advancing the spiritual welfare of those who attended on his ministry, but he steadily adhered to the ritual of his church, and, in it, the Scotch could see no spirituality, nor believe that they could receive any edification from such forms ; besides, we must not forget, that the English language was to them a foreign tongue, as very few of the aged understood any but Gaelic, for which they longed vehemently.

Mr. West soon perceived that his prospect of usefulness among the Scotch settlers was anything but encouraging ; therefore, he extended his visits during the winter months to the trading posts in the neighboring districts, where he met some of the native tribes and saw their poverty and deep moral depravity, which furnished him with a theme well calculated to excite the benevolence of the Christian public in behalf of the benighted savages that roam through the forests and over the plains of the western wilderness. On his arrival at York Factory the previous autumn, he endeavored, by means of some trifling presents and a few kind words, to ingratiate himself into the red man's confidence. In this he succeeded so far as to get these people to put a few boys under his care for the purpose of being educated and prepared for future usefulness among their countrymen. These he took along with him to the colony, and in the beginning of winter opened a school at which the children of a few traders and settlers attended. We are not prepared to say what progress they made, but this we will say, that this elementary school established by Mr. West for the instruction of a few Indian boys was the germ whence originated all the Protestant schools and colleges in Manitoba at the present time.

In February, 1821, a party of men, under the command of Mr. Laidlaw, left the colony for Prairie du Chien, the nearest settlement in the United States, performing the long and arduous journey on snow-shoes, which occupied them nearly three months. Here they purchased two hundred and fifty bushels of wheat at ten shillings a bushel, and with the use of flat-bottom boats conveyed the same to the colony. The wheat thus obtained was sown and a good crop followed. The cost of the expedition is said to have been £1,040.

The Earl of Selkirk died in 1820, which facilitated the amalgamation of the two trading companies. His Lordship's real object in forming the colony on the Red River appeared at the time to be the hope of getting a number of hardy men raised in the country, inured to the climate, and devoted to their patron's interest, to enter into the Hudson's Bay Company's employ and become servile tools in carrying arbitrary measures for the destruction of the North-West Company. He, moreover, expected, no doubt, that he would be able, in the course of a few years, to receive considerable supplies of grain from the colony for the fur trade. He knew that the grant of land which he obtained from his fellow-stockholders would give him a pretence for quarrelling with the Canada Company, and, had he been able to effect his object, he would probably have broken up the colony, for it has always been a source of injury to the fur trade.

We have left the settlers at Pembina and on the plains to the south-west of that place, where they passed the winter of 1820-21. Good health prevailed in their camps, and they fared for food as well as those dependent on the chase generally do. When the winter roads began to break up ; the settlers and freemen began to return to Pembina. We have stated above that the French families took land at Pembina, where they intended to go into farming operations. Here a number of their countrymen, with their half Indian families, built their huts or pitched their wigwams, forming a village of considerable size, with its two priests

and chapel, having, at least outwardly, the appearance of civilization and comfort.

The Scotch and some men from the Orkney Islands, who had been for some years in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, and who had families by native women, returned to the lower settlement in 1821, where, as usual, they had great difficulty in procuring subsistence during the summer months. The locusts that had been hatched in the spring, in due time left the settlement. A fresh swarm passed over the place, and, as has invariably been the case when swarms passed, many of them kept dropping to the earth. Fortunately, those in a few days took flight again, and departed without depositing their eggs. A few patches of grain escaped their ravages, but when these had been cut and gathered in, the quantity of grain was so triffling that the people laid it up for seed to sow in the following spring, and began once more to turn their thoughts towards Pembina and the plains of Dakota, where they passed the winter of 1821-22.

We have already narrated the lawlessness and disorders that prevailed during the last ten years throughout the Indian territories. The keen competition in trade had not only created a greater outlay in trading goods, but during the above period the number of servants employed by each of the contending paties had been doubled, and the wages of these men, especially in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, had been more than tripled. To these extraordinary expenses we must not forget to add the great sums spent by each of the rivals, on litigation in the Canadian Courts ; yet, long and ardent as the strife had been between these potent rivals, neither of them seemed to have gained any advantage over the other, both were on the brink of insolvency. Prudent men in each Company's service became anxious to put an end to the unsatisfactory state of affairs that prevailed, and to devise some means by which that desirable object might be attained. The merchants that were at the head

of the North-West Company's affairs in England, and their agents at Montreal, in 1810, endeavored to come to some understanding with his Lordship for the purpose of maintaining peace throughout the Indian territories. All their proposals were rejected. Again, in 1814, they laid some propositions before the Earl, which, in their opinion, if accepted by him would restore peace and prosperity, but his Lordship returned an answer containing conditions which, if agreed to, would deprive the Canadian traders of every post that they occupied within what the Hudson's Bay Company were pleased to call their territories; and before they would be permitted to maintain their communication with their establishments on the waters that flow into the Arctic and Pacific Oceans, they were informed that it would be necessary for them to lease and pay rent to his Lordship, and to the Hudson's Bay Company for the sites on which their stores and houses were built along the route to the far North and West; moreover, that some dues must be paid for the privilege of navigating the lakes and rivers through which they would have to pass in going from Lake Superior to Portage La Loche. On receipt of these modest overtures the North-West Company saw no chance of arriving at an amicable termination of the existing troubles.

The negotiations ceased, but, as we have already seen, the contention continued until both became fairly exhausted. On reflecting on the past they saw the folly of the ruinous course they had pursued. Their interest dictated the necessity of abandoning it, and wisdom suggested the only means by which the fur trade could be once more made profitable to those concerned in it—namely, the union of the two Companies, which event took place in the month of March, 1821. It put an end to party strife and rivalry in trade, not only in Red River, but over the length and breadth of the land.

The new Hudson's Bay Company's wintering partners were divided into two grades, the highest being termed Chief Factors and the other grade Chief Traders. The Company's

stock in trade was divided into one hundred shares. The stockholders reserved for themselves the profits on sixty of these shares. The profit on the forty shares was divided between the Chief Factors and Chief Traders, but not in equal shares. The forty shares appropriated for the remuneration of the wintering partners were broken or divided into eighty-four parts, of which the Chief Factor received annually the profits on two of these shares. The Chief Trader had to be content with one of these shares, or, in other words, one eighty-fourth, which, in prosperous times, yielded a fair remuneration to these gentlemen. On retiring from the service each of the commissioned officers' interest in the profits remained for seven years. The first year of his retirement he received a full share, and during the remaining six years he received annually one-half share; but during the seven years in which he drew the retired share it was understood by him that he must not enter into any competition in trade with his former employers. If he did, they reserved the right to withhold the retired share. Under the new order of things the commission men—namely, Chief Factors and Chief Traders—were *ex-officio* members of the council for the fur trade.

Under the new arrangement the Company took into consideration the claims and interests of superannuated clerks of different grades, but whose services were no longer required. For the purpose of giving each of these gentlemen a small annuity for a limited time—seven years—the profits on a few shares were assigned, and at the expiration of the seven years the sums arising from the aforesaid shares were applied to the formation of a reserve fund, and the old servants, many of them in extreme want, were left to provide for themselves.

While the leading men in the fur trade were discussing the terms on which they would unite their stock in trade, his Lordship's agents were busily occupied in Switzerland enlisting families for his colony on the Red River. About

the usual shipping time—say, from the 10th August to the 10th September,—these colonists arrived at York Factory. As a rule they were of the poorer class, chiefly mechanics—clock and watchmakers, with a goodly proportion of pastry cooks—but very few, if any, agriculturists. These immigrants left their own country under the guidance of a gentleman known by the title of Count d'Eusser, who was sent by the Prussian or Swiss Government to accompany them to the place of their destination, and report on the colony, its soil, climate and Government, when he returned, to those who had sent him. These people passed the brief time they remained at the Bay very much to their satisfaction; but "human pleasures seldom last long," and the new-comers soon realized the full force of that saying.

The fall boats had to start for the interior, and the Swiss had to embark, seven hundred miles of river and lake navigation, including thirty portages, laying between them and the colony. Their former sedentary habits ill-fitted them for the continuous and laborious efforts required in working the boats while on the water and transporting the goods over the portages. Their progress was unusually slow. Cold weather with frost and snow overtook them in Lake Winnipeg, and some of them suffered greatly from frost-bites, and all of them from dearth of food. November had well advanced before they arrived at Fort Douglas. Here they met the DeMeurons, and in them recognized their countrymen and became naturally desirous of settling near them; but the contrast between the drunken, disorderly DeMeurons and the quiet, moral and honest Swiss helped to break up the friendly arrangement, and the want of food completed what the dissimilarity of habits had commenced; and, in consequence, as many of the latter as could undertake the journey, set off for Pembina to join those who had gone there in October. The trip proved very toilsome as they had neither dogs nor horses; they had to yoke themselves to flat sleds on which they had their children and baggage.

However, time brought them to the end of their journey, the great camp where the hunters had their headquarters. These hunters consisted of French Canadians, Scotch and Half-breeds, with some Indians, who were all expert hunters, inured to the climate and provided with horses and dogs to haul their hunt to the camp; but it was far otherwise the case with the unfortunate Swiss, as they were but poorly provided with clothing to protect their persons against the intense severity of a sub-arctic winter. Although the buffalo were plentiful on the plains that surrounded their camp, they knew not how to approach them, and when others hunted for them, they were destitute of the ordinary means for taking the hunt to the camp. So circumstanced they were often reduced to the dire necessity of receiving food in charity, not only from the colonists and Half-breeds, but even from the Indians, who, to their praise be it spoken, never withhold food from the hungry when they have it.

As the spring of 1822 advanced, the wintering parties hastened back to rejoin their friends that wintered in the colony. The Rev. Mr. West says in his journal: "The Scotch, with their usual prudence, made some provision for the future; but the DeMeurons and Swiss returned empty-handed, and some of the Canadians were not much better provided." As soon as the season permitted, the Lower Canadians, the Scotch and a few of the DeMeurons went energetically to work with their hoes (for as yet the settlers had no plough) to sow and plant, and early in June all the available seed had been committed to the soil. The Swiss cleared a few patches of forest land on which they sowed small quantities of barley and planted a few potatoes. Those who had not made any provision during the winter for the summer had to depend for their subsistence on the fish which they could take in the river, and on the few wild pigeons which they hunted in the woods; and when these precarious resources failed altogether, as was often the case, they had to buy fish from those known by the name freemen,

who pitched their tents during the summer months along the river and made fishing the sole object of their pursuit. These fishermen had no tariff to regulate the price of their merchandise but the necessities of their hungry customers, which they knew well how to turn to their own advantage. As there was no cash in the settlement at the time of which we are writing, the trade in food had to be carried on by barter, the starving settler had often to part with valuable articles for a few fish which would scarcely furnish his famished family with a single meal. Fortunately for these suffering people, the summer proved very favorable to the crops, and in due time the husbandman's hopes were more than realized, and famine, with all the evils that follow in its train, was, for a season, banished from the land.

We have stated that Mr. Alexander McDonell had become Governor of the colony after Governor Semple fell at the Seven Oaks, in 1816. After having ruled the colony for a period of six years, he was, in the summer of 1822, superseded by Captain Bulger.

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTAIN BULGER'S ADMINISTRATION—INCIDENTS AMONG THE PIONEERS OF RED RIVER—THE BUFFALO WOOL FACTORY—THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES—THE CHASE—ATTEMPTS AT AGRICULTURE.

We have stated above that Mr. Alexander McDonell governed the colony from the death of Governor Semple, in June, 1816, to the summer of 1822. During those six years the infant colony had been assailed by human hostility and by the ravages of the locusts to such an extent that no material progress had been made; yet, who will venture to say that Mr. McDonell was not entitled to some credit for having established and maintained peace and order among the various nationalities represented by the people over whom he presided? Captain Bulger, who succeeded Mr. McDonell, in the summer of 1822, entered on the duties of his new office, and his predecessor retired to his farm.

It may not be out of place to state here that the settlers were supplied with goods from his Lordship's stores at Fort Douglas. There being no circulating medium, a system of credit and barter had to be adopted and acted upon. For instance, when a settler required supplies, in the first place he made a list of the desired articles, with which he went to His Honor the Governor, who, as a rule, endorsed the same. From His Honor, the lists had to be taken to the accountant and from him to the salesman. Each of the above officials copied the various items on the list into his books. The salesman's duty was to deliver the goods and check them off on the list; but if the required articles were not in the store, or even at hand, the applicant would be told to leave his list and call again, and often after calling again and again, the articles would not be delivered and the checked list said

to have been lost. The articles had been entered on the books; and the unfortunate settler might protest, but the items were entered and the colonists had to pay for them. We may, without hesitation, admit that the system of so many entries was adopted with the intention of securing accuracy, and, we believe, that it was well calculated to answer that purpose if those in the sale-shop had carefully filed these lists instead of throwing them into the first empty box that presented itself till called for, and when called for, very few could ever be found. During the above unfortunate times, some of the settlers had been employed at such work as house building and agricultural labor on his Lordship's experimental farm, or tripping to the Bay and thence inland in his Lordship's boats, carrying goods and stores for the settlement. For all such labor they were paid in goods, and if they did not require articles to the full amount of their wages, they were given to understand that the balance remaining in their favor would be placed to the credit of their account. However, the colonists could not persuade themselves that their accounts had been honestly kept. A change of officials annually took place, those who had been in charge of the stores and books last year, were, mo t likely, succeeded by parties who were entirely unacquainted with the mode of managing the business, and in consequence could not give the desired information to those most deeply interested, and who, on account of their unfortunate position, were compelled, at the end of each year to sign what was presented to them as their accounts. Those who dared to refuse signing their so-called accounts were threatened with having the store shut against them, which threat never failed to bring the refractory to terms. On debts thus contracted, five per cent. per annum was charged, which state of affairs created considerable excitement in the settlement. While the public mind was in this vexed mood, Mr. Halket, one of the Earl's executors, arrived from England. The colonists appeared by delegates, before him, and related their many grievances, to which he

lent an attentive ear, and promised to hear all parties and give the required redress so far as in his power.

The Governor and his subordinates were brought to task. Book-keepers and salesmen of former years had left the country, and their successors in office could not produce any vouchers to throw any light on the debts that had been accumulating for some years, and which the debtors believed to contain many false entries and the non-entry of sums with which many among them ought to have been credited. Seeing the impossibility of finding out the true state of affairs from the books and from those whom he found in possession of them, after mature consideration, he ordered one-fifth of the debt to be thrown off with the five per cent. interest, which he pronounced to be illegal and oppressive. He left the colony about the 20th July for York Factory, not by the usual route—Lake Winnipeg—but by Lake Manitoba and the Little Sascatchewan, which empties itself into Lake Winnipeg, and in due time he arrived at the great emporium of the fur trade on Hudson's Bay. During his stay in Red River he saw, with regret, the unsatisfactory manner in which his Lordship's mercantile affairs had been managed, and wisely determined to cease supplying the colonists any longer with goods.

We may safely conclude that while at York Factory he arranged with the leading men of the fur trade to undertake that branch of business and supply the colonists with such European manufactures as they would require and could pay for. These articles were to be sold at Red River at a specified percentage on prime cost, namely: 1st, $33\frac{1}{3}$ was added to the prime cost; then on that amount 58 per cent., which became the selling price, or rather the amount the purchaser had to pay. We have some of the accounts of 1822 and 1823 before us, which are running accounts with parties who had been in the Company's service, and to whom arrears of wages are due.

We will give the totals of the first cost of one of these accounts, viz. :—

First cost added up.....	£32	5	6¼
Advance, 33⅓ per cent.....	10	15	2
	£43	0	8¼
" 58 "	24	19	2
Total of account.....	£67	19	10¼

Thus the merchant realized 110 per cent. on his original outlay, deducting therefrom the agency in England and freight to York Factory, with expenses of inland transportation, the storage and sale of the goods in the colony. Business was still carried on by barter, but the credit system was abolished.

The union of the two Companies contributed greatly to the peace and prosperity of the colony; all apprehension of serious strife had been removed for the present. The new company occupied Fort Gibraltar, at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where stores were opened and goods sold to all who could pay for them. We have stated that the summer of 1822 had been favorable and the harvest abundant. The settlers exchanged what they could spare of their grain for goods. The hunter brought in the provisions that he had procured on the western plains and exchanged them for articles of European manufacture. The red man also brought his peltry and disposed of them here. Thus we see that all the traffic of the surrounding district centered at Fort Gibraltar. Fort Douglas continued to be the residence of the Colonial Governor and the seat of Government, but the stores had been allowed to become empty, and in consequence the long train of clerks, store-keepers and their attendants disappeared.

The new order of things conferred another benefit on the incipient settlement, in the great number of orderly and industrious people it had been the direct cause of sending

to the place. The number of servants employed by the contending parties was triple the number required in quiet and peaceable times, and, more especially, when the business came to be managed by one firm. This being the case, those at the head of affairs embraced every opportunity of dismissing those whose engagements had expired. Of such there were several hundred cases, many of whom were provided with a passage to Montreal; others, especially those who at former periods had entered into matrimonial relations with native women, preferred retiring with their families to the Red River settlement. None of these men could be called wealthy, but every one of them, especially those who had been for any number of years in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, had money, which enabled them in due time to stock their farms. A numerous party, composed of hardy and brave men, in the prime of life, were embarked at York Factory for Europe. In relating the contribution made by the fur trade to the population of the colony, we must not omit mentioning the introduction of some valuable mechanics from Scotland, namely: a mill-wright, a ploughwright and a blacksmith. The same ship brought a land surveyor into the country, who made his passage to Red River in the fall boats, and who soon after his arrival commenced work and before spring had finished the survey of what has been since known as the River Belt, from the mouth of the Assiniboine River to the lowest extremity of his Lordship's purchase, according to the Indians' understanding of the treaty or grant made by them to him. In the part surveyed by Mr. Fiddler, and occupied by the original immigrants, each lot contained ten English chains frontage on the river, the lines to the rear extending ninety chains, each lot containing ninety acres. In Mr. Kemp's survey of 1822, the lots were reduced to eight chains frontage, and extended 160 chains to the rear, each containing 128 English acres. Many of the Hon. Company's servants, at this conjuncture, were reduced to the alternative of abandoning

their families or retiring with them to the colony. A number of them were entitled to grants of land in the settlement for past services, and on their arrival in the place, they were permitted to settle on such lots as they found unoccupied. A laborer, as a rule, was entitled to 100 acres, and on settling on one of the eight-chain lots, he was given to understand that, at some future time, he would have to pay in produce for the extra twenty-eight acres in the lot at the rate of five shillings sterling per acre. Each clerk, interpreter and guide who retired to Red River, was put in possession, for past services, of two or three eight-chain lots.

The influx of families, from the fur trade, in 1822, and the following summer, exceeded in number those who represented the original colonists brought in from all quarters by his Lordship. Many of these men had served for years in the coldest, most sterile and inhospitable portion of Rupert's Land, and of what is now known as Keewatin, where they had to subsist for seven or eight months in the year on fish taken in nets or on hooks set under ice five feet thick, and when these, in many places, precarious resources failed, sad indeed was the lot of the unfortunate fur trader. When men who had for years suffered the severity of such a climate, with all its concomitant evils, arrived on the banks of Red River and beheld not only the luxuriant herbage by which they were surrounded, but tasted the delicious wild fruits that every bush presented for their acceptance, they could not cease contrasting the land of their adoption with the sterile regions in which they had lived so long; but, their admiration of the fertility of the soil was, if possible, raised still higher on seeing the splendid growth of the various kinds of cereals on the few patches that were at that early period under cultivation. They contrasted this growth with what they had been accustomed to on the well-tilled and oft-manured fields of their native land; and it is truly gratifying, in taking a view through the vista of time long elapsed, to reflect on the abundance of

rural wealth with which their industry and frugality enabled them in a few years to surround their habitations.

We have stated above that Captain A. Bulger succeeded Mr. Alexander McDonell in the Gubernatorial Chair. His Honor had not been long in power before he had an opportunity of showing his determined character in the punishment of an Indian brave, who, in a drunken bout, waylaid the Captain and made an attempt to stab him as he was passing along a dark passage in his dwelling-house. The would-be murderer was laid hold of, court-martialed, and sentenced to receive a few dozen lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails. The Indian was known to the colonists as a very dangerous character. He was surrounded by his kindred, who were half drunk, and who would, undoubtedly, sooner see the great *Medicine Man* shot than lashed to a field-piece and whipped. There was some difficulty in procuring an executioner to inflict the sentence of the court. After some delay and a great many threats on the part of the Indians, a gigantic DeMeuron soldier named Bonaparte stepped forward and called for the whip, which, by all accounts, he applied vigorously, without fear or favor, to the offender's back. The Indians ran to their arms and began to chant their war songs, but the intrepid Captain was not to be terrified by their howling and threats, threatening, in his turn, that if the Chief would not cease his threats and order his followers to lay down their arms and cease their howling, that he would cause him to be lashed to the gun and serve him with a few lashes. These few energetic and well-timed words had the desired effect; and no sooner was the savage set free than the whole band took to their canoes and made for Lake Winnipeg, taking their justly chastised companion along with them. This well-merited chastisement taught the savages who lived in the vicinity of the colony that the time had passed away when every brave could set the laws of civilized society and of humanity at defiance with impunity, which they certainly did during the last ten years. With the reader's permission

we will give one instance out of a number that occurred in the Severn District in the spring (April) of the year 1817. In the latter part of the previous September ten or a dozen North-West men, with some trading goods, under the command of a Mr. Henry Seirs, came to Trout Lake. Many of the Indians had not during the last six or seven years seen a North-West Company's servant in that region, for after the Hudson's Bay Company's servants ventured from the shores of the Bay and established a post at Trout Lake, in 1808, by degrees the North-West Company had to withdraw their posts from that part of Rupert's Land, but managed to keep their ground to the west, on the top waters of the Severn River, where we shall leave them and turn to those who wintered at Trout Lake. During the days of opposition the Indians received outfits in advance. Twice in the year, generally in May and October, they drew liberally on the Hudson's Bay Company's store, and were urged strongly to depart, without beat of drum, for their hunting grounds ; but Indian curiosity and cupidity forbade compliance, and, instead of dispersing and going to their usual wintering grounds, they pitched their tents near the North-West Company's House, and began to draw largely on Mr. Seirs' liberality and credulity, until they nearly emptied his store, before they bade him farewell. The winter had passed, the spring was far advanced, and the opening of navigation at hand, but no Indians came forward to pay their debts to Mr. Seirs, when he chanced to meet an Indian coming to the Hudson's Bay House. This Indian he engaged to guide two of his men, Larocque and Leclair, to a camp of Indians residing at Beaver Lake. Two or three days travelling brought the unfortunate Frenchmen to the camp, where they found some of those Indians who, in the preceding autumn, had made great professions of friendship to the Canadian Company's agent, and who had drawn, on credit, largely on his store.

But they were reminded of these fair professions by La rocque, and informed that he and his companion had been

sent to them to receive payment for the goods advanced by Mr. Seirs. But, alas! these friendly avowals were now forgotten, and the savages must have concluded that the readiest way of paying their debt would be by destroying those who came to ask them for it; and, without hesitation, they shot Larocque and finished his companion with an axe, stripping their lifeless bodies bare, and leaving them for a prey to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the forests, appropriating the spoils to their own use. Two Hudson's Bay men left the Fort a day after the Frenchmen had left their house and followed in the footsteps of the latter, and on arriving at the place where they expected to find the Indians, they were gone; but there they found the mangled and bare remains of their fellow citizens, which, so inspired them with terror that instead of following the Indian trails to their new encampment, as was the custom under ordinary circumstances, they turned their faces homeward, and travelled day and night until they returned to the Fort, where they related their tragical tale. These murderers made their appearance at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort after the opening of naviga tion, delivered their winter hunt, received their summer supplies and departed for their hunting grounds, without being so much as told that they had committed a crime, on the miserable plea that it was neither the duty nor the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company to interfere with Indians for murdering North-West men, probably on the ground that these men were violating the privileges conferred by the charter, or from indifference to the commission of crime. Murders of the most atrocious character were of frequent occurrence among the natives, especially when under the maddening influence of "the fire-water." Yet, we are free to say, that during a period of ten years in which we served the honorable Company, no enquiry had ever been made into any of these foul deeds, nor punishment inflicted for the same. It remained for Captain Bulger to give an example how these vicious miscreants ought to be punished. Pre-

vious to the above affair, the settlers were greatly annoyed by the vicious among the Indians, who had made a practice of riding off their horses to a distance, and, not unfrequently, of stealing them. The subject of the above well-merited and well-timed chastisement was at all times one of the most audacious of these evil-doers; but afterwards the red-skins began to pay some respect to their neighbors' property, and horses grazed at large without molestation.

A new project was set on foot this year, which, to some extent, affected the interest of the infant colony. The plan formed by the projectors was a joint stock company, bearing the novel title of "The Buffalo Wool Company," consisting of 100 shares of £20 each, with provision for increasing their stock at any future time. Mr. John Pritchard was placed at the head of the new company. His calculations seem to have been based on the supposition that the requisite articles, wool and hides, could be had for the trouble of picking them up.

The express objects of the Company were as follows:—

1st. To provide a substitute for wool, as it was supposed, from the numbers and destructive habits of the wolves, that sheep could not be raised nor preserved in Red River, at least to any extent.

2nd. The substitute contemplated was the wool of the wild buffalo, which was to be collected on the plains and manufactured both for the use of the colonists and for export.

3rd. To establish a tannery for manufacturing the buffalo hides for domestic use.

It was the Chairman's belief, to quote his own words that "To accomplish these important ends, neither much capital nor much skill was required;" but others thought differently of the project and were assured that much would depend on economy and proper management.* Nevertheless, the capital, amounting to £2,000, was no sooner placed to

* A. Ross.

the credit of the new company in the Hudson's Bay Company's books, than operations were commenced with great activity and confidence. All the buffalo hunters were enlisted in the enterprise; the men were exhorted to strain every nerve to preserve hides, and the women were encouraged to gather all the wool they could find by the promise of a liberal price for all that they would bring to the manufactory. An establishment worthy of the Buffalo Wool Company was erected in the heart of the settlement, and the possession of a certain quantity of the requisite materials was judged to be all that would be necessary to ensure the success of the enterprise. At the time of which we are writing, the buffalo were in great numbers a few miles south of Pembina, and a multitude of people, composed of the various races in the land, had congregated to hunt these animals during the winter months; and in the spring, when the hunters returned to the settlement, a trifle of wool and a considerable number of hides were delivered at the Factory. But it was now found out that wool and hides were not to be had for the picking of them up, for the wool cost something and the price of a hide ranged from eight to ten shillings sterling; and before the hide could be freed from the wool it had to undergo the different operations of soaking, heating and pulling. All the available hands in the place, male and female, were called into operation. The men and lads manipulated the hides, and it is well known that an expert hand at pulling the wool could gain from six to ten shillings per day; even boys thought themselves ill-compensated for their labor at anything less than four or five shillings per diem. Female labor was neither overlooked nor undervalued, as all who could spin were invited to the Factory to receive wool to make into yarn, for which labor they were paid at the rate of one shilling per pound. Thus we find that the industry of the colony had not only been stimulated but also turned into a new channel, in which it found money or credit in the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany's books, neither of which they could have realized from the produce of their farms.

This affair enabled the settlers to obtain a little money at the right time. A small herd of domestic cattle was brought in this summer on speculation, and, arriving at this juncture, were eagerly competed for by the few who had money or credit, and sold at highly remunerating prices; good milch cows sold as high as £30 each, and oxen trained to work sold for £18 each. It may be interesting to observe here that these were the first cattle ever brought from the United States to this settlement, and the first the colonists owned since they left their native hills. Here we must inform the reader that operatives were introduced from England, consisting of wool-dressers, furriers, curriers, saddlers and harness makers; likewise, an outfit of goods was procured and a store opened in the establishment for the convenience of those carrying on the work. Some leather and cloth had been manufactured, but they could not compete favorably with similar articles brought from Europe, and, unfortunately, rum formed a considerable portion of the outfit, and it was well known that drunkenness and disorders prevailed in the establishment to a fearful extent. Hides were allowed to rot, the wool spoiled, the tannery proved a failure, and although the concern dragged on until 1825, it was apparent to the most cursory observer that its progress was from *bad to worse*, and when its affairs were finally wound up it was found that they had not only expended their original stock of £2,000, but were indebted in the amount of £500 to their bankers (the Hudson's Bay Company). This heavy loss hung for some years over the heads of the stockholders, until the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company relieved them from their responsibilities by cancelling the debt.

The crops of this season proved to be the best and most abundant that had ever been reaped in the colony. It has been positively asserted that the wheat put in with the hoe produced over fifty returns; barley and potatoes were more

productive. Yet those of mixed blood, who, about this time, began to appropriate to themselves the title of freemen, with many of the young colonists, resorted to the plains to pass the winter among the buffalo, whence they made occasional trips to the settlement with the produce of their hunts, for the use of those who remained at home. A few ploughs were at work in the spring of 1823, yet the mass of settlers had to ply their hoes as in former times. Notwithstanding, a greater quantity of seed had been committed to the soil than in any previous year, and although the summer months proved exceedingly dry, the crops were very good. Captain Bulger gained golden opinions among the settlers for his impartiality and love of justice; but as he was at the head of an establishment distinct from and independent of the fur traders, he met with considerable opposition and annoyance from the latter, who endeavored to prevent those under his command trafficking with natives for provisions, leather and horses.

The Captain, for his own satisfaction and for the benefit of all who were in the colony, sent a statement of the case to the Earl's executors, in which, from the result, we are induced to infer that he represented strongly the hardship of prohibiting the interchange of the above specified animals and commodities.

The above gentlemen had to bring the case before the Hon. the Board of Directors in London, who saw that their representatives in Red River were, by their high-handed conduct, sowing the seeds of future strife and trouble; and sent a special express to the colony, *viâ* Lake Superior, with circulars which were put into the hands of the leading men in the settlement. In these documents, the Hon. Directors gave full permission to the settlers to buy horses, leather and provisions from the freemen and from the red-men.

Governor Bulger resigned and left for England, *viâ* York Factory, where he met his successor Captain R. P. Pelly, who in due time arrived at Fort Douglas and assumed the

duties of his high office. Donald McKenzie, Esq., a veteran fur trader, represented the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Gibraltar, where stores had been opened for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants of the surrounding district with European manufactured goods. The colony stores having been allowed to remain empty, on the express understanding with the Company that they would for the future supply the settlement with the requisite articles,on which they were to charge the following rates on the prime cost; first, thirty-three and one-third on the original cost in England, and on that amount fifty-eight per cent., as we have stated above. Along with this new arrangement the Company introduced a circulating medium, to wit, a paper currency with some copper coins. The notes were of three different values, the highest represented one pound sterling, the next in value five shillings, the lowest one shilling. These notes were payable in bills of exchange at York Factory, and that establishment was seven hundred miles from the colony. However, we must say, in justice to the Company, that they never for a series of years refused to give bills of exchange for their notes at Red River.

A few American citizens this summer, 1823, brought in a drove of horned cattle, numbering from four to five hundred head. Captain Bulger, the year before, contracted for sixty milch cows, at the rate of nine pounds sterling per head on delivery in the colony. The rest of the drove was brought in on speculation, and, very fortunately for the adventurers, a considerable number of men left the fur trade service and came to settle in the colony. These men were all desirous of possessing horned cattle, and were able to pay for them by bills of exchange on London. After some time the latter obtained some good bargains; cows in calf sold from five to seven pounds each, and untrained oxen sold as low as five pounds each.

We have mentioned above that the Rev. John West, a Missionary from the Church of England, came to the colony

in 1820. We believe that Mr. West received a salary from the Hudson's Bay Company as Chaplain for the body, and visited some of their posts on the Assiniboine and Churchill on the shores of Hudson's Bay. The term for which he had engaged having expired he left for England, and met his successor, the Rev. D. T. Jones, at York Factory, who arrived in due time in the colony, holding the double office of Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company and Missionary to the Indians, each office having a respectable salary attached to it. Here Mr. Jones found the Indian boys collected by Mr. West who were under training in the Missionary school, and four or five families of his own persuasion. The rest of the Protestant settlers were Presbyterians; so we have the singular anomaly of a Church of England clergyman without a congregation, and a Presbyterian congregation without a clergyman. It would be interesting to know the representations made by Mr. West to the members of the Church Missionary Society, that induced that body to send at very great expense another of its Missionaries to Red River, where, as Mr. West could not fail to know, the English Church had so few adherents. Those who lived in the settlement at the time, could not believe that Mr. Jones came into the country for the purpose of laboring among the Indians, for he never, so far as is known, travelled a mile from his dwelling to visit these people. How far the Chaplain might stand in the Missionary's way is not for us to say, but we believe that Mr. Jones felt the full force of the saying, namely, "No man can serve two masters."

At the commencement of the colony his Lordship's servants brought a considerable part of Point Douglas under cultivation; but this farm had to be abandoned on the arrival of the DeMeurons to enable these warriors to settle near Fort Douglas, and, in consequence, a new farm had been commenced and carried on on a large scale a few miles higher up the Red River.

The management of "the experimental farm of Hayfield," as it was called, was entrusted to a Scotch farmer named Wm. Laidlaw, who had considerable agricultural experience, and was sent into the coountry for that purpose; and along with him came a number of men and maid-servants, who were, as a rule, sober, moral and industrious, with a fair knowledge of agricultural operations. It was said at the time when the experimental farm of Hayfield was commenced that his Lordship had two objects in view in establishing it, namely, raising grain, rearing cattle, and butter-making; also, to prove the adaptability of the country to the successful pursuit of these various branches of industry when under skilful management. Barns and other out-houses were erected, with a princely mansion which cost five or six hundred pounds, and was, soon after completion, accidentally reduced to ashes; and, for some years after these great preparations and outlay, there was not an ox to plough with nor a cow to milk, and before these had been obtained Mr. Laidlaw left the settlement and joined the American Fur Company at Lake Travers. The Hayfield farm had a second dwelling-house built upon it, and the concern was carried on at the expense of his Lordship's estate until the fall of 1824, when the stock and farm were sold, the latter realizing £400. Thus ended the first experimental farm after £2,000 had been spent upon it without answering any of the objects which its projector expected.

We have stated above that the Lower Canadians who came into the country to settle formed a village at Pembina. Many of their countrymen who had left the North-West Company's service and became freemen joined those in the village. In the spring of 1822 they began to feel the pressure of hunger. A party left the little settlement for the plains to hunt the buffalo. The residents in the village continued to suffer from want, and, as the hunters did not return to their relief at the expected time, they became anxious for the safety of the latter. At this crisis, Mr. Hess, a trader who

lived in the village with his family, and was suffering in common with his neighbors, resolved to go in quest of the hunters. He commenced the journey with two other settlers and his two daughters. As he had married an Ojibway woman, he travelled through the Dahcotah country with the greatest precaution, knowing the hereditary feud that existed between the nation of the mother of his children and the Dahcotahs. On the sixth day of the journey he left his companions to chase some buffalo that were in sight. He spent some time in the chase, and on his return, after a long ride, he saw the primitive cart in which his family had travelled and hoped to find them as he had left them, and recount his success in the hunt. On his arrival at or near the cart he was horrified at finding one of his companions scalped and deprived of both his feet. A few steps beyond lay one of his beloved daughters, with a knife lodged in her heart. He then discovered the lifeless remains of his other fellow-traveller, but could not find his second daughter. Overwhelmed with grief and helpless he returned to Pembina, after travelling three days and three nights without a morsel of food. Reciting his melancholy tale, the settlers were seized with a panic, and not one would accompany him to the scene of slaughter to bury the dead. Obtaining information that one daughter yet lived a captive in a Yankton lodge, with the energy of despair he started for the enemy's camp, determined to rescue her or die in the attempt. After a long journey he descried the cone-shaped tee-pee, and before he reached the spot a Yankton accosted him whether he was a friend or a foe? Hess, nerved to the highest physical courage, said: "You know me as your foe; you know me by the name of Standing Bull; you know you have killed one of my daughters and taken the other prisoner." The Dahcotah was impressed by his fearlessness, and extended his hand and,taking him to the camp all complimented him. Finding his daughter, he was cheered to learn that she had been treated with kindness. Her owner was

at first unwilling to release her, but at last consented for a certain ransom which was soon produced. The Dahcotah, true to his word, delivered the daughter."*

The above mentioned atrocious act of fiendish cruelty with many others of a similar character, especially the murder of David Tully and family, occurred. Mr. Tully had been for some time blacksmith on the Earl of Selkirk's establishment in the colony, and was desirous of crossing the plains to the United States in company with some Americans who had brought in a drove of cattle, and were to return immediately after they had settled their affairs. Tully, in the meantime, moved on to Pembina, where, after waiting some time, he expected his intended companions to join him ; but, as they did not come up at the expected time, urged on by his impatience in an evil hour, he ventured with his family and a single half-breed for his guide on the plains, following the trail that led to the Grand Forks. On arriving there they resolved to wait for those who were to come after them. But while here they were discovered by a war party of the restless and cruel Dahcotahs who were on the war-path in search of their hereditary foes the Ojibways. They took the infant from Mrs. Tully's arms and knocked its brains out against a tree ; then butchered, scalped and cut to pieces the unhappy parents. They made two boys prisoners, who were redeemed some time after by American traders, and lived some time at Fort Snelling, where they died. The dexterous and unencumbered half-breed, on hearing the tramp of the enemy's footsteps plunged into the river, swam across, gained the covert of the woods and returned to the colony, where he related his tragic tale, which sent a thrill of sorrow through every bosom. The frequency of these barbarous and cruel murders convinced the Pembina settlers of the dangerous proximity of their position to these murdering and scalping Dahcotahs, and concluded it to be their wisest course to retire and join the colonists on the lower

* Neil's History of Minnesota.

Red River, where a few of their countrymen had resided, near St. Boniface, since their arrival in the colony in 1818.

The Swiss, in 1821, settled among the DeMeurons on the Rivière la Seine, which takes its rise in the forests to the east and falls into the Red River, about a mile below the confluence of the Assiniboine River with the latter. Others of the Swiss had settled on the Red River above the Forks. The refugees from Pembina squatted down near the Swiss. The Scotch occupied what is now divided into the Parishes of St. John and Kildonan. The Protestants arriving in the settlements extended down along the Red River, and occupied the Parishes of St. Paul and St. Andrew. After the coalition of the two companies, York Factory, on the shores of Hudson's Bay, comparatively speaking in the centre of the Indian territories, became the headquarters of the fur trade. To this depôt all the furs collected in the "far North," and in the northern department of Rupert's Land, were brought and embarked for England, in the ship that brought the supplies into the country. The outfit remained for the first winter at the depôt; the bales were opened and repacked in smaller bales, each weighing from ninety to one hundred and fifty pounds.

The Inland trade was carried on by means of boats of small draught and light construction, each of which carried from seventy to eighty of the above bales or their equivalent in other goods. Fort William, the headquarters of the far-famed North-West Company, sank into the condition of a mere trading post. The birch canoe was allowed to decay; the hardy and athletic men, chiefly half-breeds, who navigated it in former, and to them better, times, were thrown out of employment, and to support themselves and their family had to become hunters, and, from some cause or other, they soon became disgusted with their condition in the district on the Sascatchewan, and by degrees came to join the little colony at Pembina, and finally moved down to the Lower Red River and to White Horse Plains. The most

wealthy class possessed horses, and provided themselves with carts of so simple a construction that each hunter, as a rule, could make and repair his own vehicles. The forest furnished ready to his hand the requisite material either for construction or repair, and each party of hunters carried along with it the necessary tools, which consisted of an axe, hand-saw, auger, chisel and crooked knife, being all that was needed for the performance of the above simple operations.

As early as 1822, the hunters being inspired with a well-founded dread of the hostile Dahcotahs (Sioux), never ventured to the buffalo hunt, except in formidable and well organized bodies ; they commonly made two trips, one in the summer and the other in the fall. The first and greatest party left in the beginning of June, and generally returned, if successful, with their loads of dry-meat and pemican in the month of August. For many years the Hudson's Bay Company was the only purchaser of the produce of the chase, and in consequence could regulate the market to suit their own interest by paying any price they thought proper. Yet, discouraging as this state of the market was, the greater part of these people could not exist without going to the plains, and, very often, especially the first trip, they could not go to the plains without receiving supplies in advance from the Company. Thus business was done for some years to their mutual satisfaction and advantage.

The poorer class of the French Canadians who came into the colony from all parts of the Indian territories, especially from the thick wood regions, being destitute of horses and without means to buy these useful animals, planted their frail habitations on the banks of some river, where they lived among the savages, and moved from place to place with these people, subsisting on such supplies as they could procure from the stream, until admonished by the falling leaves that winter was fast approaching, when they raised their camps and replanted them on the shores of our great lakes,

for the purpose of taking whitefish during the spawning season for winter use; and when these precarious resources failed, as they often did, these improvident people had to suffer great privation during the spring months, until the opening of the rivers and lakes brought the usual abundance of fish and fowl to their relief. A few years sufficed to weary them of their vagrant mode of existence; a few of them fixed their permanent abodes on the shores of Lake Manitoba, and in a few years acquired a few horned cattle and horses, became hunters and trip-men to Portage LaLoche and to York Factory, but remained innocent of deforming the beauties of nature by introducing the art of cultivation; but more of the trip-men hereafter. Another part of these freemen built their temporary habitations on the banks of the Red River, interspersed among the Protestant settlers, and during the season of open water, made fishing their chief occupation; but when the severity of winter covered the lakes and rivers with ice, and rendered the occupation of the fisherman more laborious and less profitable, these men found employment among the neighboring farmers, and thus for some years procured a precarious subsistence, until the Catholic clergy became acquainted with their irreligious habits and degraded conditions, which were very little removed from those of the savages, and made a laudable effort to reclaim them by bringing them under the influence of religious instruction, and inducing them to settle in the French parishes, where they would be under the vigilant eye of their spiritual teachers. In looking at the above separation from a religious point of view, we can see strong reasons in its favour; but it became productive of political weakness and jealousy between the different races that occupied the different sections of the colony. But more of that subject hereafter.

Those who may be termed the floating population of this region, consisting of French and English half-breeds, with a few others, hunted the buffalo during the winter of 1823

and 1824 on the plains near the Great Salt River, whence they brought great quantity of the green beef into the settlement on sleighs, turning the surplus into dry-meat and pemican, with which they descended the river on the opening of navigation to exchange for such supplies as they required to fit them out for the summer hunt. Those who had settled in the colony and intended to give all their time to the improvement of their lands had, in the preceding season, purchased teams of oxen; but, unfortunately, such was the scarcity of iron that very few, if any, ploughs had been mounted; very little of that all important metal to an agricultural community had been brought into the colony during the preceding season, and that little was laid hold of by the patriotic Governor Pelly, for the purpose of mounting His Excellency's pleasure carriage. Notwithstanding, a considerable extent of new land was brought under cultivation, the summer was favorable, the harvest abundant, and all kinds of cereals attained great perfection.

We must not omit mentioning here that from four to five hundred head of cattle were imported this summer (1824) from Louisiana and Kentucky. They met with a ready market, but prices ranged much lower than in 1823. Trained oxen sold at £8 to £9 sterling each; first-rate milch cows were bought at £7, and some as low as £6. Untrained oxen, cows of inferior appearance and heifers were sold at much lower prices. The whole herd was bought, and the adventurous speculators were paid in bills of exchange, at sixty days' sight, on the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company. The hunters accomplished their two trips and were successful in both. The Hudson's Bay Company bought up all the pemican, tallow and drip meat that the people had to spare; many of them sold the last bag of pemican and the last bale of meat, and returned to the plains to pass the winter among the buffalo. The few hunters who had houses in the settlement and who were desirous of passing the winter months in them, reserved for winter use the

principal part of what they brought in in the fall; and when these supplies ran short, as they generally did, they had to leave the settlement and betake themselves to the lakes to procure fish, or buy back a part of the provisions which they had sold the preceding summer, always paying one hundred per cent. on what they sold the same at a few months before; but so long as it was on credit and only to be paid in kind, when they would return the ensuing summer from the hunt, they were perfectly satisfied.

The first week in April, 1825, saw the dissolution of the snows of winter. The warm rays of a bright sun in a few days penetrated and thawed the earth so as to enable the husbandman to commence his operations. Those who had become colonists during the last two or three years saw clearly that they could not force the soil to give them bread until they possessed the necessary means to subdue it, so their first object was to purchase oxen; but, although these had been secured, before any great extent of land could be prepared for the reception of seed, ploughs were required. The country furnished abundance of wood suitable for the construction of those essential implements, but iron to mount them could not be procured in the colony, and those desirous of obtaining that useful metal and who had money in the Company's hands, had to send for it to York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, where it cost 1s. sterling per pound, and the freight inland cost 3d. per pound. The blacksmith charged £4 sterling for ironing the plough; notwithstanding, numbers of new ploughs were prepared for spring operations.

A considerable extent of new land was turned up and sown, and the lands that had been cultivated in former seasons were sown; and doubtless this spring saw twice the quantity of seed committed to the soil that had been put in in any former season.

The summer months were all that the husbandman could desire in sunshine and genial showers. The crops grew luxuriantly, ripened well, and were gathered in in good

condition, affording the industrious farmer the pleasing prospect of bread enough for his household during the winter months and some to spare to his indigent neighbor. Wheat sown on land that had been cropped once or twice before yielded from twenty to thirty returns; sown on the sod, it may be said to have averaged six or seven returns. Barley gave from thirty to forty returns, but when sown on the sod it did not yield more than the wheat did on similar soil. Several hundred head of cattle were brought into the colony this summer. The demand for them was not very great, consequently the prices were low, yet they were sold and the adventurers received their bills.

CHAPTER VII.

Events of 1826-7—Famine and Starvation among the Hunters—A Severe Winter—Thirty Perish from Cold and Starvation—The Terrible Flood—The Red River Valley becomes a Continuous Lake—The Damages—Trade and Commerce—Agriculture and the Produce Market.

In recording the transactions of 1826, the most disastrous since the commencement of the colony, we must premise by stating that the preceding months of September and October had been uncommonly rainy and cold. About the 20th October, the wind began to blow fiercely from the north, accompanied by a heavy fall of snow, which lasted forty-eight hours, and literally choked the water in the river, and when the wind fell, such was the intensity of the frost that not only the rivers but even the great lakes assumed their winter covering. Heavy falls of snow succeeded each other at short intervals during the first part of the winter, and in January, the snow in the wood, where undisturbed by the winds, was five feet deep. We have stated above that the French half-breed portion of our population, with some of the poorer class of the Lower Canadians, passed their time summer and winter on the plains hunting the buffalo. In the fall of 1825, a greater number than usual went to enjoy the pleasure of the chase and luxuriate on its produce; but, unfortunately, their hopes were not realized. Rumours reached Pembina, in January, to the effect that the hunters had been unsuccessful and that they were destitute of food and in great distress. Rumours of every kind being common in these parts, and oftener false than true, they did not receive much attention. However, in the early part of February, some person who had arrived at Pembina from the camp,

not only confirmed the previous reports, but showed clearly that the condition of the freemen was far more deplorable than fame had rumored. Mr. McDermott and Mr. Alex. Ross were at Pembina, trading under a license from the Hudson's Bay Company. These gentlemen might sympathize with the sufferers, but they had very little else to give. However, they immediately despatched a messenger to headquarters to make the sad condition of the unfortunate hunters known to Donald McKenzie, Esquire, who held the office of Colony Governor and Chief Factor in charge of the Company's affiairs in the district. This benevolent gentleman not only made use of the stores under his charge for the relief of the sufferers, but added the influence of his high position and personal character to induce others to join in the good work. The settlers delivered their contributions of food at Fort Garry, and some of them volunteered to take the stores to Pembina, which was, comparatively speaking, easily done, as the road was good. But very few of those for whom the charity was intended had yet arrived at that point, and the nearly insuperable difficulty lay beyond, as neither horses or oxen could go any farther, and the only practicable mode of conveyance, owing to the deep snow, was by using dogs and sleighs, which greatly increased the labor. The distance some of the sufferers were from Pembina was nothing short of 150 if not 200 miles; but sympathy for them was general, and those who had dogs and trains offered their services to carry supplies to the relief of the famine-struck multitude, who, it was well known, were pressing on to reach Pembina. Train after train was loaded with the provisions, and entered on the boundless snow-covered plains, over which they had to travel with supplies. However, they had not gone far before they met some of those they were in search of, and from them they generally received such information as enabled them to find others. Many of these intrepid drivers travelled over a wide extent of country in search of their missing friends, numbers of

whom, if not all, owed, under Providence, the preservation of their lives to the dexterity and unwearied perseverance of those who may justly be said to have snatched them from the jaws of death.

We have stated above how suddenly and unexpectedly the winter set in and the great depth of snow that fell in the early part of it. The hunters had arrived at their hunting grounds and found buffalo, but from various causes were unable to make any provisions for a future day before the storms of the winter covered the plains with snow three or four feet deep. Their horses had become useless in hunting and on account of the great labor they had to perform in obtaining their scanty food from so great a depth of hard packed snow, were in a few weeks not only unfit for any kind of labor but unable to procure their own food. While thus destitute of food for man and for beasts, between the 15th and 20th December, a great snow storm came on, such as has rarely been seen even on those wide and treeless plains. This storm, which blew from the north, continued to rage during three days and four nights, drove the buffalo before it beyond the reach of the hunters and killed a great many of their horses. After the weather had moderated the camp broke up, a group or family going here, another going there, in hope of finding wood-animals; others made their way to the Devil's Lake expecting to take pike by angling; but all their efforts to procure food on land or from the water failed. Then they began to kill and eat the few emaciated horses that remained; these finished, the dogs were next resorted to, raw hides, leather, and even their old shoes; some had been found who had buried themselves in snow banks for shelter from the keen blasts that swept over the frozen plains; but unfortunately their refuge, not in a few cases, had become their graves. The heat of their bodies melted the snow, they became wet, and being destitute of dry raiment, fuel and food, were frozen in a body of solid ice; others had been found one here, one there—along the road that led to

Pembina, dead and frozen, where, on being overcome by lassitude they sat down to rest and were relieved from all their mortal sufferings by the hand of death. Some of these were found very near to Pembina, viz: a woman with an infant on her back was found within a mile of the place where she had succumbed in the arduous but unequal struggle for life, after having travelled 100 miles in three days and as many nights. The sufferings of most of these people exceeded everything of which we can form an idea. One family, consisting of the husband, wife and three children, were dug out of the snow where they had been buried for five days and five nights, without food or fuel; the mother and two of the children recovered. The famished crowds that arrived at Pembina were fed and nursed for a few days, yet so debilitated were they, that on the way down to the settlement it might be said that they crawled rather than walked, and a few of them died by the way. Thus, after unparalleled exertions had been made by those intrepid men who went to the rescue, the survivors were brought to the settlement and supplied with such comforts as their circumstances required; some of them had their feet frost-bitten, others, hands and noses suffered likewise. The common belief was that over thirty of these hunters perished during that terrible winter. After the survivors had recovered their former health and strength, numbers of them went to Lake Manitoba to pass the spring months, and were successful in obtaining an abundant supply of fish. Those who remained in the settlement found employment among the farmers who, in return supplied them with food.

The colonists had scarcely recovered from the anxieties and exertions of the previous winter when they were overtaken by another calamity as unexpected as it was destructive. The spring was unusually cold until the last week in April, when the wind began to blow from the south, the snow began to thaw, and on the 2nd of May the accumulated water overflowed the banks, literally and rapidly changing

the valley of the Red River into a huge lake. At Fort Garry it rose nine feet perpendicular in twenty-four hours. Many of the settlers had built their shanties on the low points along the river. The water rose so suddenly that, in some cases, its rushing into the houses roused the inmates from their beds, when, in their terror, they fled, under the shades of night, to the upper bank, venturing a second time into the flood to relieve their cattle from their dangerous position. But there were cases, not a few, where the people were cut off from the second bank by deep water, and in these cases, the inmates had to climb to the roofs of houses and pass the night in these very unpleasant and dangerous situations, until the light of day enabled their neighbors to see their perilous condition and come to their rescue with boat or dug-out and land them on dry ground.

But here they found no abiding place, so level was the country, so rapid the rise of the water, that on the 5th all the land was submerged for some miles on each side of the river. The terrified people fled, some went to the pine hills on the east, some to the rocky hills on the west, others went down along the river and found dry land; and those who had been located near Upper Fort Garry with the gentle DeMeurons, whom his Lordship of Selkirk brought into the colony to restore order and keep the peace, camped on the high lands on the north of the Assiniboine. At this crisis every boat and dug-out was called into operation and performed excellent service: first, in carrying the people who had to flee for life to places of safety; next, in returning to save all that could be found of the abandoned property; for many of the fugitives had taken nothing with them except the clothes on their backs. Furniture, grain and utensils of every kind had been left in the houses, many of which were beginning to float; a few had been crushed by trees broken down by the masses of solid ice floated down by the ever increasing flood. In many instances the houses could only be entered by breaking through the roofs, and save what

they could. Notwithstanding every effort, property of every description was seen for days drifting over the plains or down the river, to be finally engulphed in Lake Winnipeg.

Scarcity of food began to be felt in the camp on the Assiniboine. Pemican rose from 4d. to 8d. per pound, wheat from 7s. 6d. per bushel to 15s., and all other kinds of food rose at the same rate. While thus pressed by want, the DeMeurons had the credit of resorting to the European military practice of foraging or levying a contribution on all the cattle within their reach, and thus procured beef not only to supply their own wants but also to sell to those who could pay 3d. per pound for it.

It is pleasing to be able to state, notwithstanding the sudden and unexpected overflowing of the water, that so few lives had been lost. Two French half-breed lads, while paddling a canoe before the stream, were forced by the current against an uprooted tree that projected into the river, upset and drowned. A third man was drowned while collecting the wreck of his buildings.

After what we have already stated it would be superfluous to say much on the causes of the above disastrous occurrence. However, we will briefly say that autumnal rains had filled to overflowing the lakes forming the sources of the Red River and the swamps along its course. Then an extraordinary depth of snow fell during the winter months. A very late spring, and, as a natural consequence, a quick melting of the snow. In these we have the causes. We may here observe that the water was observed to be rising a few days before the ice began to break and continued rising until the 21st of May. It was then sixteen feet above the usual high-water mark at the opening of the river. By the middle of June the waters had so receded as to be contained within the banks of the river, and the settlers began to return to the vicinity of the sites of their former habitations. But in this movement there was a great want of unanimity ; the Scotch and French Canadians resolved, at all hazards, to remain at

Red River, while the Swiss and DeMeurons had made up their minds to leave the country and cross the plains to the United States, intending to rejoin their compatriots who, dissatisfied with the state of things in Red River, left it in 1823 and, unfortunately for themselves, followed the great river into the land of fever and ague, of which diseases most of them died during the first winter after their arrival on Fever River. The Swiss and DeMeurons were joined by other restless and discontented spirits; and so little was their residence in the land desired that food and other necessaries for their intended journey were given gratis by the Hudson's Bay Company's servants with the view of hastening their departure and helping them on their journey. The emigrating party, numbering 243 souls, left the colony on the 24th day of June and entered on their long and dangerous journey to Fort Snelling, in the United States. We learned afterwards that the party crossed the plains in safety, and that the Swiss settled down on the UpperMississippi and were prosperous. After the subsidence of the water the hunters left the colony to hunt the buffalo, and returned with their carts well loaded. The hardy Canadian farmer, the adventurous voyageur and the equally hard and determined North Britons were not to be terrified out of the country by accidental events. They decided, without delay, on the course most proper for them to pursue, and although the advanced season gave but slender hope that their toil would be crowned with success, yet a considerable quantity of barley, potatoes and some wheat had been committed to the soil during the last ten days of June, and all came to maturity with surprising rapidity. When we inform the reader that the Red River Colony is in the 50th degree of north latitude the above may appear incredible; yet such was the effect of a hot sun acting on soil naturally rich that had been for some time saturated with tepid water. Sowing having been finished, houses and stables had to be built, and, as almost all the former buildings had gone before the current, new

materials had to be provided; the new buildings were erected on the second or upper bank, and in most cases were finished before the winter set in.

The lakes had been resorted to in autumn for the purpose of taking whitefish for winter use. Their efforts had been very successful, and sturgeon were taken all winter at different points in the Red River, and where the river falls into Lake Winnipeg sturgeon were taken in great abundance by the various individuals who passed the winter in its vicinity, but there were parties there who, being destitute of sturgeon nets, had to subsist on pike taken by the line and hook. Those who had barley were very fortunate in being able to get it turned into flour by a wind-mill that had been built in 1825 by the Earl of Selkirk's executors; before its erection all the grain raised in the colony had to be ground on querns or hand-mills, and however strange it may appear most if not all the families from Kildonan brought these useful and time revered instruments from their native straths to the plains of Red River; and it was no uncommon thing for those who had grain, but no means of grinding it, to make the first suitable stones they found into querns. Most of the farmers who had raised a trifle of wheat the preceding season were not able to save much of it for seed. Others had none of that valuable cereal to commit to the soil, and had to content themselves with sowing some barley and planting a few potatoes.

The summer was favorable for the productions of the earth, so much so, that the little sown yielded great returns. The hunters were successful in both trips, and brought in, in the course of the summer, abundance of pemican, dry-meat and tallow; also, the dressed hides of the animals killed. The fishermen pursued their usual occupations and added considerably to the stock of provisions procured by the other parties; in a word, the people in the settlement had the satisfaction of knowing that there was enough food in the place to enable them to bid defiance to want until

the opening of the navigation in the following spring. While rejoicing over the success that attended our labors during the year, a new and unexpected cause of trouble sprung up between the rulers of the land and those whom they ruled.

The deep snow of 1826, on its dissolution filled every pond and marsh in the vicinity of the colony with water, and in them the muskrat, castor (*fibir-zebethicus*), had become very numerous, and were chiefly hunted by the Indians and half-breeds. The Company claimed the exclusive right of buying all the furs hunted in the country, for the payment of which that body politic had two price lists differing from each other. The Indians were paid according to one of them, the half-breeds and whitemen according to the other, which system of trade we shall endeavor to explain. The Indians were dealt with on the old system of "made beaver," a technical term among the traders, which term, with the reader's permission, we shall endeavor to explain. The skin of a full grown beaver, either prime or common, was the fixed standard by which all other kinds of furs were valued, namely: the skins of twelve full grown, prime muskrats were equivalent in trade to one beaver skin. Suppose an Indian asked the trader for one half-pound powder, which, in the language of trade, was one made beaver, he got it, and had to pay twelve rat skins, or an equivalent in other kinds of furs to the beaver skin. On the other hand, the furs brought to the Company's store by those known as freemen were valued in cash (to wit), a freeman, half-breed or whiteman, brought a beaver skin to sell, or rather to barter, cash he could not get for it, but it was worth twenty shillings sterling in goods. Whereas the down-trodden red-man could only get the value of one shilling for a similar article. The prime rat-skin was only worth twopence in goods to the redskin, while it was worth sixpence to the freeman. But it generally happened that the Company's stores were empty of all goods before

Christmas Under these circumstances scrip was given for furs. The petty traders, who resided here were careful to be on good terms with the man in power, and were the first admitted into the sale shop, where they obtained goods to the full amount of their cash and credit. These they kept on hand until the Company's goods would be done, when they disposed of them to the freemen for scrip at an advance of two or three hundred per cent., so that when the freeman could only get scrip for his furs, he was, as a rule, very poorly paid for them; nevertheless, better paid than the red man, and therefore could afford to buy from him and give something on the bargain.

When the hunting season came on, which was in the beginning of winter, the Indians, as a rule, were destitute of clothing to protect their bodies from the cold, and as the country was bare of large game, these improvident people had to depend on the few muskrats they hunted for their food, which, in many cases, would not furnish them with one meal per day. Thus suffering from famine and nakedness, we cannot feel surprised that they endeavored to take the paltry proceeds of their fitful industry to the best market. The freemen lived in the Indian camps and hunted with them in the marshes and forests. The former had generally food, ammunition and articles of clothing to spare. These they bartered with the redman for his furs, who, notwithstanding this trade in his camp, frequently visited the farmers to exchange his furs for their produce. But this state of things, so satisfactory to the parties engaged in it, did not continue long before the rulers at Fort Garry came to hear that the above traffic, which they termed illicit, was carried on, and the plan adopted for its suppression was as unpleasant as it was summary. The constabulary force in the colony numbered about a dozen men, and in their house-searching expeditions their only warrant was the presence of a Hudson's Bay Company's clerk. These men, on some occasions, went forth armed with muskets and bayonets, to

the great terror of the dames whose mansions they honored with their visits. All furs found were confiscated, no questions being asked as to how the possessor came to have them. To elucidate what we have stated above, we shall give a few cases to the point. Mr. Régiste LaRance, a French Canadian, had been accused of having furs in his possession, and thus infringing the Company's privileges. The police were mustered, armed and sent to Mr. LaRance's house, who happened to be from home. The door was locked, but bars and bolts had to give way; the house was broken into, and all the furs it contained carried to Fort Garry to swell the Company's accumulation of the like property. Several individuals, both Canadian and English, were dealt with in a like summary manner; but the cases that evoked the greatest degree of public sympathy with the oppressed and odium to their oppressors were those of two Lower Canadians, both very poor and one of them lame, who had, after the disasters of 1826, settled at Lake Manitoba for the purpose of fishing, being unable by any other means to support life; and that of an Italian, who was a tin-smith by trade. It was well known in the settlement that he had no goods to exchange for peltries, he might now and then patch or mend some kettles or other tin-ware for the Indians, for which these poor people, if they remunerated him for his material and labor, would have to do so by giving him such furs as they had; but, we believe, that the only sin committed by our two Frenchmen against the privileges and immunities conferred by the charter, was their being in company with the Italian tinker. Be that as it may, they were honored in the month of February with a domiciliary visit from his Lordship's constables, backed by the customary authority, a gigantic Hudson's Bay Company's clerk. The offending parties were apprehended, the torch was applied to their shanties, which were reduced to ashes, and the poor unfortunates were not allowed to take their hooks and nets out of the lake. Thus, being deprived of the means of providing

for their subsistence, they were marched to Fort Garry. The two Frenchmen were confined for some time, strictly enjoined not to return to the scene of their former misdemeanors, and then turned out of the place ; the Italian tinsmith was kept in durance vile for some months, then sent to York Factory, brought before the Fur Trade Council, threatened with deportation to England, and many more hardships, all of which our hero bore with equanimity worthy of an ancient Roman. After the above ordeal, he was engaged to labor for a time in the kitchen, and was provided with a passage in the fall boats to Red River.*

These petty acts of oppression are only worthy of a place in history, in so far as they show how good and worthy men may become instruments of tyranny, when their duty to their employers compels them to enforce the dictates of a vicious system ; and, also to show how acts, trifling in themselves, may give rise to animosities, which may go on for years intensifying, until the tempest of outraged public feeling bursts on the heads of the oppressors, of which more hereafter. Those who had any claim to be considered cultivators of the soil, exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to enlarge the area of their cultivated fields. When the thaw had penetrated the soil to the depth of two or three inches, was considered the most favorable time for ploughing

* The year 1827 saw the Hudson's Bay Company commence to act on the Earl of Selkirk's idea of transporting goods from the Bay to the Colony, by opening a winter road between a certain point on Fox River and Oxford House. The goods were forwarded in boats from the Bay to the stores on the above river. A road, eighty-one miles in length, had been made through forests and over swamps between Oxford House and Fox's River. His Lordship contemplated using reindeer to transport the goods ; his successors used dogs for that purpose during the first year, but it was soon found that they were unfit for the work. In 1828, stables had been erected at a distance of eleven miles from each other, hay had been provided at each of the shanties, oxen had been taken from the Red River and employed on the road, but, through some mismanagement, they did not do better than the dogs. Bale after bale had to be thrown off the sleighs everywhere and never looked after. In 1829, the undertaking was relinquished, after having cost the Company in men's wages, oxen, and lost and destroyed goods, some thousands of pounds sterling.

new land, as it was softer then than when hardened by long exposure to the rays of the sun. However, no sooner had the crops (or seed) been committed to the earth than the breaking up of new land re-commenced, and was carried on during the last two weeks of June. Land thus ploughed was left to the action of summer rains and winter frosts until the following spring, when it would get a second ploughing, then sown with wheat, which never failed to yield large returns, ranging from forty to sixty bushels per acre. Of course, much depended on the nature of the season, as well as on the quality of the soil. After the flood of 1826 great impetus was given to agricultural operations. The seasons, during a series of years, had been all that could be desired; quantities of grain remained on hand year after year. A market was demanded for surplus produce, and a larger importation of goods annually into the colony. Governor Simpson promised that the Company would bring in a sufficient stock of goods to supply all who could pay for the same, and, that henceforth the Company would buy from the settlers all the agricultural produce that would be required for the fur trade. The public mind became elated by these generous promises of getting a market for the produce of the land, and of finding an open store in the settlement where supplies could be obtained for cash all the year round. We must observe here that all the inhabitants of this extensive region depended upon the Hudson's Bay Company's stores for dry goods, groceries, ammunition and iron work, no other store of any importance being then in the country.

The Company's sale shop would be opened, as we have said above, for the public in October, when every man in the settlement who had a few pounds, or even a few shillings, set out for Upper Fort Garry, each anxious to be the first at the shop door. Even if he succeeded in being the first at it his chance of being the first to get in was very slender indeed, for in a few moments he would be surrounded by scores of men who in their eagerness to get to the door, kept

crowding on each other, not only to the great annoyance but danger of the weakest. About 8 a m. the officials entered the sale shop by some private door; two men were placed at the public entry to keep back the multitude that pressed with its united weight against the front door, which would be by degrees cautiously unbarred, when in spite of the strong and armed men, a crowd would burst in with such force that many in the throng were thrown off their balance, came full length to the ground, and were injured by being tramped upon by their surer-footed or more fortunate friends. The guards at the door re-locked and re-barred it with all convenient speed, and as soon as those within assumed something like order the sales began. The presiding genius was a senior clerk, who impatiently looked for a chief trader's commission, and who evidently believed that retailing cotton, ammunition, tobacco, &c., was incompatible with his personal dignity, and who, unfortunately, exhibited occasionally the bitterness of his feelings in expressions of ill-humor towards his unfortunate and helpless customers. The personage above described took his seat at a desk fronting a window, two or three sub-officials were in attendance to measure and weigh. A purchaser presents himself before the man at the desk, whose first demand was "Give me your money.?" Customer—"I will, if you please, as I buy." The man at the desk, peevishly—"You must comply with our rules; if you do not, you must retire and give place to another." A mental glance at the empty wardrobes at his home, and the nearness of winter subdued the refractory. The cash was handed over, counted and entered on the book. The customer began to receive such articles as were to be had, being occasionally reminded that the cash to his credit was getting low. Thus business went on until the customer would be paid for his last pennies by a few ounces of thread or of tobacco. By degrees all who got in would be served, or, in other words, their cash would be spent, and they would be sent out by a back door, or even at a window. Again the front door

would be cautiously opened, when others rushed in to take up the places left vacant by those who had passed out by the back door; and in this way the good people of Assiniboia, day after day and week after week, spent their time and money until the goods would be disposed of and all the cash in the settlement gathered in, which was generally accomplished by the last of November. The above mode of doing business continued from the coalition of the two Companies to the year 1832 or 1833.

About the above period a few private gentlemen began to import dry goods from England, which they retailed in the settlement at a very handsome percentage on their outlay. The facility with which these private merchants turned their goods into cash taught the Hudson's Bay men that they might safely venture to import a much larger supply of goods into the colony and lose nothing by doing so. So much for the fulfilment of the first promise. Now to the second promise, namely, a market for agricultural produce. The promise was relied on, the colonists spared neither labor nor means to produce articles for the long wished-for and now graciously promised market, so that in a short time the demand was adequately supplied. No sooner had this been accomplished, than the astute Governor saw that he had gained the vantage-ground and could regulate the prices as he pleased; but Governor Simpson was too wise a man to desire all the odium that the new tariff would call forth to centre on himself, therefore he resolved to share it with his Colonial Councillors. These were assembled at Fort Garry, the new tariff was submitted to their Honors, and, so far as the people knew, was passed *nem con*, for at this period of our colonial existence we had neither printing press nor reporter. The reader may desire to know who composed the Council, and as the desire is laudable we shall endeavor to gratify it. Know, then, that the Governor of Rupert's Land, when present, was chairman *ex officio*; in his absence the Governor of the colony, who was at the same time a Chief Factor in the

Hon. Company's service, and who, as we have said above, depended for his emoluments on the profits on the general trade over the country. Next came the Vicar-General of Juliopolis and two clergymen of the English church, sent into the country as missionaries to the aborigines, but who were at the same time Chaplains to the Hon. Company, and in receipt of annual salaries and valuable allowances from that body. To this we may add that one of these Reverend gentlemen kept a ladies' boarding school, for whose subsistence considerable quantities of colonial produce was required. The other gentlemen who had seats in the Council were in receipt of retired shares from the Hon. Company; besides, each of them was dependent for many articles of farm produce on the settlers.

We have set before the reader the composition of the Council; we shall now acquaint him with its action on the present occasion. The prices of agricultural produce were reduced as follows:—Flour, from 16s. per cwt. to 11s. 6d.; wheat, from 7s. 6d. per bushel to 3s. 6d.; barley, from 5s. per bushel to 2s.; potatoes, from 3s. per bushel to 6d.; beef, from 6d. per lb. to 2d.; butter, from 1s. per lb. to 7d.; cheese, from 6d. per lb. to 4d.; eggs, from 1s. per doz. to 6d.; pork, from 6d. per lb. to 2d. Pemican, dry meat, tallow and all articles of food procured by the chase were reduced in a similar ratio, while dry goods, groceries, salt, ammunition, iron works and all other articles required by the settlers and hunters remained at their former prices; and at the same time that the price of produce was so reduced, the price of land, in 1829, was raised from 5s. per acre to 7s. 6d.

The Reverend William Cockran came to the colony in 1825 and took up his residence with the Rev. D. T. Jones, who had his establishment where St. John's Cathedral and College now stand. These missionaries labored for a few years together among their fellow-Protestants, namely, the Scotch settlers and Orkney-men, who had been year after year retiring from the fur trade service, and coming with their

half-breed families into the colony to settle along the course of the river, as we have said above, from the northern extremity of the Scotch settlement, occupying the Parishes of Saint Paul and Saint Andrew, down to the southern limit of what was then considered the Indian reserve. In order to bring religious instruction within easy reach of those who lived at a distance from St. John's, the Rev. William Cockran decided on settling at Grand Rapids, and bought from 16 to 20 chains of land from the Governor of the Northern Department, who was acting for the young Earl of Selkirk, for which the Rev. gentleman paid 7s. 6d. per acre. A few families who came to the colony from Moose and Albany had to deposit the price of three chains of land valued at 7s. 6d. per acre before they were permitted to leave for the colony in 1829. The rise in the price of land compared with the reduction made in the price of everything that it produced stirred up a spirit of bitter hostility against the legislators in the people at large, for all classes were disadvantageously affected by these changes. However, after the multitude had grumbled to their hearts' content they had to acquiesce in the new order of things; in fact, the market was more than supplied, when unfortunately, the quality of Red River produce was loudly complained of from one end of the land to the other. The flour was said to be not only sour, but unfit for hog's feed, the butter rancid and unfit for human food, the cheese was declared to be still worse, beef and pork at twopence per pound was found fault with. English produce must be imported and carried inland from York Factory to the different stations in the interior. The settlers, after all their labor and expense in improving and enlarging their farms, were left in a worse condition than before they had made the above improvements and extensions, since the market which they had so confidently relied on and so much required was withdrawn. To account for this state of things, we must take a view of the circumstances of the colony at the time. A certain class of farmers understood

their business, ploughed and sowed with great care, and not only paid great attention to the right harvesting of the crops, but built substantial well floored barns to thresh their grain in. These, as a rule, succeeded in delivering a well cleaned and wholesome article at the Hon. Company's store, which would be thrown in bulk on the flooring. A second class raised a considerable quantity of grain, and had barns, but these barns were without flooring, and when the cold weather set in, water was taken from the river poured into the barn to the depth of twelve or eighteen inches, and when solidified by the frost threshing commenced, the action of the flail disintegrated the ice, the particles adhered to the grain, which, after being separated from the chaff by the wind, would be carried to the Hon. Company's store and thrown into the heap of grain brought by the first class farmers. We might mention a third class, who threshed their grain in the open air during all kinds of weather, imbibing more or less moisture while thus exposed, which grain, in course of time, would be taken to Fort Garry and mixed with the common heap. Fanning and smut mills were then unknown in this land. The wheat, with all the impurities that chanced to get into it while in store, was taken to the mills and ground in a frozen state, the bran imperfectly taken from the flour, the latter being packed hot from the bolt in kegs made of green wood, which were furnished by the officials at Fort Garry to the millers. From the mill the flour would be taken to the Company's store where it remained until shipped in open boats for Norway House to be sent over all the inland country, often exposed to sun and rain. So, we have little reason to wonder that the flour became deteriorated and worthless. For some years Red River butter was in high esteem by the traders. The Scotch settlers were the only parties who supplied the article, and being accustomed to make that article for the market in their native land, they understood the business; but, in course of time, many men were yearly leaving

the Hon. Company's service and settling in the colony with their native women. These were desirous of supplying the market with butter, but did not understand the management of their dairies, and consequently furnished a very inferior article, which was taken to the store in all kinds of weather, hot, windy or rainy, not in kegs, but in open dishes covered with towels or cabbage leaves, generally imperfectly freed from the butter-milk and indifferently salted. This mass after having acquired a liberal accumulation of dust was packed in firkins—double cases filled with pickle were not used. The firkins, made of green wood, one day exposed to rain, the next day to a burning sun, became leaky, and the salt put in the butter, after it had become liquid, escaped. From these different causes, when the firkins reached their destination their contents were invariably found to be worthless ; and we may fairly apportion the blame between the producer and buyer, as if both had conspired to ruin the produce market.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENTS—ARRIVAL OF COLONISTS AT RED RIVER—ERECTION OF A NEW FORT—THE DIFFICULTIES OF STOCK-RAISING—THE UNFORTUNATE SHEEP SPECULATION—DRIVING SHEEP FROM KENTUCKY TO RED RIVER.

We have stated how the Scotch settlers lamented and fretted at the non-fulfilment of his Lordship's promise of sending them a minister of their own persuasion, and who could address them in their native tongue; and while in the above dissatisfied and gloomy state of mind certain statements made by the Rev. Mr. Jones and published in the Missionary Register of December, 1827, came to light in the colony. Speaking of the Scotch colonists, at page 630, the Reverend gentleman expresses himself thus: "I lament to say there is an unchristianlike selfishness and narrowness of mind in our Scotch population, while they are the most comfortable in their circumstances of any class in our little community." And, then, to heighten the contrast, if not to disseminate the seeds of discord and party feeling, he adds: "The Orkney Islanders are a far more promising and pleasing body of men. There is among them an identity of feeling and disposition, and the energy of their character is in general directed in a proper channel." And, as if it were to finish the picture thus begun and to crown the climax, he further remarks: "The half-breeds walk in simplicity and godly sincerity!" The last sentence is worthy of the note of admiration. Nor do we doubt, from our own knowledge of the classes of whom he speaks, that the Reverend gentleman found the task of dictating to Orkney Islanders, as he calls them, and to half-breeds too, much easier than to make stubborn Scotchmen renounce their creed. We may here

observe that the Presbyterians were never sincerely attached to the Church of England, although the young people and those of the aged who fancied that they understood some English, attended on the services of the ministers of that church. But when his Reverence's complimentary comparisons came to their knowledge, they decided on making another effort to obtain a minister of their own persuasion. With that object in view they waited, by delegation, on Donald McKenzie, Esq., Governor of the colony, who received them very cordially and directed them to prepare their petition for a minister, and promised to forward the same to the place of its destination. Certain gentlemen were instructed to draft the petition, which was in due time submitted to a large and influential meeting of Scotch settlers, who unanimously approved of it and attached their signatures. This done, it was consigned to the Governor's care, who, in conformity with his promise, did forward it; but the unfortunate document was stopped short and never went beyond York Factory, from which place it was returned to Red River in an empty butter firkin belonging to one of its chief promoters. The only reason that we can assign for this charitable interference with men's feelings and rights is that the Reverend gentlemen's, (Messrs. Jones and Cockran,) satelites got up a counter petition addressed to the Board of Directors in London. These two petitions were despatched by the same conveyance for York Factory, where they met the Rev. D. T. Jones. We have reason to believe that the Reverend gentleman, on his landing, was favored with a copy of the counter petition, which was forwarded and arrived safely at its destination; but, whether Mr. Jones' presence at York Factory had anything to do with the fate of the petition sent by the Presbyterians we will not say, but we believe that we may safely to it ascribe the glory of consigning its rival to its ignominious fate, and of achieving what was at the time considered a brilliant triumph to the counter petition. However, the Rev. Mr.

Jones and his lady arrived in the colony in the beginning of October, 1829, and took possession of the parsonage at what has since been known as St. John's, but was then known as Kildonan, the centre of the Scotch settlement. The fate of the unfortunate and dishonored petition promised immunity from all fear of having his equanimity disturbed by the arrival of a Presbyterian Minister in the land, whose presence in the colony at that time would reduce Mr. Jones' congregation to about half a dozen families with four or five Indian families who had left their frozen forests and came to the colony to visit a sister, a daughter, or some near relative married to a white man. Once in Red River, they must go to the buffalo hunt, generally as servants, but while there they were in their element, feasting from nightfall to morning, and when they returned with the last trip they were as poor as they had been when they commenced the first. They were permitted to erect huts on the east side of the river, opposite the parsonage, where they passed the winter months supporting themselves by working among the settlers. They were induced to attend prayer meetings in the evenings, where they were instructed in the rudiments of Christianity. While these Indians were struggling in their native forests for a hard-earned and precarious subsistence, as they knew no other condition of life they were satisfied; but, after passing a few winters in the milder climate of Red River, and after having acquired a taste for the good things procured by the buffalo hunt and raised on the farms, they could not be induced nor compelled to return to their former hunting grounds, and here we shall leave them for the present. The Rev. Mr. Jones was well-known to those among whom he had taken up his residence on his return from England, and although their minds had been alienated from the Church of England to a greater degree than in former times by the well-known opposition given by the clergy and adherents to their petition; yet they could not fail to appreciate his eloquence in the pulpit and many amiable qualities

in private life. Always kind and indulgent to his hearers, he now laid aside such parts of the liturgy and formulas of the Episcopalian Church as he knew were offensive to his Presbyterian hearers. He also held prayer meetings among them after the custom of their own church. Here all was extempore, which raised him higher than ever in their estimation, especially when they knew that he could only do so at the risk of forfeiting his gown. His own words were : "I know that I am doing good ; and as long as I can do good to souls the technical forms of this or that Church will not prevent me."

The Rev. Mr. Cockran, who had hitherto resided at St. John, had been occupied in making an establishment at the Grand Rapid (now St. Andrews), to which he brought his family a few days before Mr. Jones arrived in the settlement. This zealous and indefatigable preacher of the Gospel admitted the dwellers in the vicinity every Sunday into his private dwelling, where he performed Divine service during the first year of his residence in his new charge ; but before the close of the winter, a great effort had been made by the minister and by the liberal-minded portion of the congregation to collect materials for a building that was intended for a time to answer the double purpose of a school-house and church, which was made habitable before the winter set in. However, the erection of a more suitable place of worship was not lost sight of. In the summer of 1830 timber had been rafted down from the forests bordering on the Assinniboine River. Delegates were sent to Donald McKenzie, Esquire, to ask for a lot of land for a church and grave-yard. The Governor exceeded their requests, for he not only gave the congregation a lot of eight chains frontage on the west side of the river, but also gave them a forest lot of eight chains frontage on the east side of the river. As soon as convenient a building of fifty feet by twenty feet was commenced.

The years 1829 and 1830 saw the arrival of a number of families from James' Bay. Most of them were of mixed blood, but resembled in their habits and dispositions the prudent and industrious Orkney men. In the beginning of October, 1830, when the building of the church was commenced, the families living within the limits of what was then supposed to become the future parish were sixty in number. These families, as to nationality and creed stood thus: thirty-six were from Scotland, chiefly from the Orkney Islands, Presbyterians by education; four heads of families were from England and might have been brought up in the Episcopal Church; the remaining twenty families were half-breeds, the sons of the above-mentioned Orkney men. There were at the above period only two white women in the congregation; one of them represented England, the other represented Scotland. A considerable number of the elder women had been brought up in Indian lodges, but the half-breed women had not only acquired some knowledge of letters, but in every case had been instructed in the rudiments of Christianity in their youth. The settlers contributed labor to the building of the church instead of money subscriptions. The building was opened for public worship on the Second of May, 1832.*

The church finished, the next object, and one of the most vital importance to a young community, was a school, which was commenced in the beginning of the winter of 1831. A young gentleman of fair educational attainments had been engaged to teach. On entering on his duties he took the male portion of the pupils under his care, while Mrs. Cockran devoted five days in the week to the instruction of the girls who attended school. But the Reverend gentleman was, when not engaged in other duties, in the school examining the pupils, praising the diligent and reproving the slothful.

* No heathen or Indian families had any permanent residence in the parish, nor ever formed any part of the congregation that built the church at Grand Rapids and worshipped in it.

Nor must we omit to inform our readers, that the unceasing turbulence of the French half-breeds, made Governor Simpson desirous of removing his residence from their immediate vicinity at the confluence of the Red and Assinniboine rivers. He decided on building a fort twenty miles farther north on the Red River. For the purpose of carrying out his intentions, he took his workmen to the most eligible spot on the Red River for the erection of a stone building, and they commenced operations in the month of October, 1831, digging foundations, quarrying stones and preparing timber. The river bank is from thirty to forty feet high, composed of fossiliferous limestone within a distance of a hundred yards from where the buildings were to be reared, and stones from the same place were burned into lime, the unbroken forests on the east side of the river furnishing abundance of fuel for that purpose. During the summers of 1832 and 1833 a commodious dwelling-house and a capacious store were finished, and Governor Simpson and family passed the winter of 1833 and 1834 at the Stone Fort. Goods were sold at the store to the settlers inhabiting the north end of the colony, thus doing away with the necessity of travelling over many miles for the purpose of purchasing their trifling supplies. To which we may add, that it being always a place of some importance, but more so when the Governor wintered there, it afforded a market to those who lived in its vicinity. In 1839 a stone wall was commenced, designed as a defence ; this structure was three or four feet thick, with embrasures for small arms in it at regular distances of fifteen feet from each other. A capacious round tower occupied each of the four angles. The circumvallation forms a square, with a gate on the south-east side which lies parallel to the river, and another gate on the north-west side which fronts the plains. This station, though the walls and towers have been left in an unfinished condition and giving tokens of decay, is notwithstanding the most important post the Hon. Company has in the country on account of its being the terminus of lake navigation for

steamers. Here they receive their cargoes of trading goods, which they take to the Big Fall at the mouth of the Sascatchewan, whence these goods are forwarded to the west and to the districts lying to the north of that river. The steamers on their return trips bring the furs collected on the Sascatchewan and in the districts to the north during the winter, and are thence forwarded through the United States to England.

We shall, with the reader's permission, now revert to many attempts made by the Governor to direct the attention of the agriculturalist from raising wheat, which he could not turn to any other account beyond that of supplying his family with bread. The original, or Earl of Selkirk, settlers were now pressed to pay the heavy debts which they had incurred during the first few years they had been in the colony. Some families owed his Lordship's estate as much as three hundred pounds sterling, and no family owed less than one hundred. These heavy debts had to be paid in produce, for which they were allowed very low prices; so the quantity which they delivered at the Company's stores fully supplied the only market to which the farmer could go, and this being closed against all who were not in debt, gave rise to murmurings and expressions of discontent. The Governor, with his well-known sagacity, endeavored to divert the public mind from brooding over past disappointments and to turn it into new channels of industry. Flax and hemp seed were introduced and given gratis to those who were ambitious to try their fortune in the new adventure, and, as an additional stimulus, prizes, varying in value from one to five pounds sterling, were promised to those who raised the greatest quantity of rough material. The ground had been well prepared; the seeds, sown with care, grew to perfection, and was pulled in due time, but, unfortunately, as a rule, with few exceptions, the settlers knew nothing of the processes of steeping, beating and hackling, the articles to prepare them for domestic use or for the foreign market, so that we may

say that a great amount of labor had been lost. It is true the prizes promised had been paid to the parties to whom they had been awarded, and a few hundred yards of coarse sheeting had been manufactured at this time by some of the old settlers, who had been accustomed to such work in Scotland. Scarcity of laborers, consequent high wages, and the entire absence of skilled labor, ruined the whole scheme; but, at the same time, it was clearly proved that the rich alluvial soil of Red River was capable of producing these valuable plants in the greatest perfection.

The next hobby to which public attention was directed was a joint stock concern, to be named "The Tallow Company." Its capital was to consist of £1,000, divided into 200 shares of £5 each. The affairs were to be managed by a chairman and six directors. The shares to the amount subscribed were at once taken in cattle, and six shares qualified any subscriber to be a director. The general rule for taking in the cattle was their age—none taken under one nor above five years old. Those of one year old were valued at £1 each; two years old at £2; three years old at £3, and so on. The whole herd consisted of 473 head. The first or preliminary meeting was held in the first part of April, 1832, within what had formerly been known as Fort Gibraltar, at the confluence of the Red and Assinniboine Rivers.

The Governor made a clear and forcible speech, in which he pointed out to his hearers the illimitable extent of fertile plains that were in the colony and in its vicinity; the wisdom and advantage of utilizing the same by stocking them with domestic cattle; any number, like the buffalo, might be raised, as in some parts of New South Wales, without the aid or trouble of hand feeding in winter. He expressed his belief that the business might be increased to any extent—so much so, that the tallow and hides would become valuable articles of export.

The cattle were, according to promise, delivered to those who had been appointed to receive them, and branded with

the initials T. T., signifying tallow trade, and soon after conveyed to pasture grounds, at the foot of the pine hills, at a short distance to the east of the settlement, and placed under the care of two herdsmen. On the 30th day of April a furious storm came on from the north; about 18 inches of snow fell, a circumstance altogether unusual at that season. The storm was followed by some very cold and stormy weather. Some of the cattle were very lean. All had been housed and regularly fed during the winter. The trifle of new grass that had sprung up at this early period was first deeply buried in snow, then covered with water. The only food that remained for the suffering stock were the branches of trees and tops of willows which were picked up by the stouter animals that took the lead, leaving little or nothing for the weaker ones that followed, and the consequence was that 26 of these died.

However, during the summer the stock improved rapidly, and men began to look favorably on the undertaking. At the same time, it was considered advisable to make some provision for their subsistence during the bleak and stormy months of winter; the quantity of hay made averaged one load per head Roofless sheds were railed in, not for protection against the cold, but to answer the double purpose of keeping them together at night and preserving them from the wolves; yet, with all this attempt at care, the intense cold of the winter, when the mercury froze and when the spirit thermometer on several mornings indicated from 40 to 45 minus, proved to be too much for them. When driven into these roofless pens they instinctively pressed for warmth as close together as they could stand, and generally passed the night in that unusual position; hence, when turned out in the mornings they were so benumbed with the cold and standing all night that they could scarcely walk, and, of course, were unable to procure their food in deep snow during the day. In this miserable manner they passed the first winter, during which time 32 died from the combined

effects of cold and want of food; the ears, horns and tails of many of them froze and fell off; the cows lost their teats, besides which 53 were killed by the wolves. The total loss the first year was 111. The carelessness and indolence of the herdsmen contributed greatly to this disaster, but the chief agents in producing these unfortunate results were the wolves, the dread of whose ravages led to the cattle being cooped up together, where they stood in a semi-torpid state all night.

In the beginning of the second year of this experiment, the cattle were removed to a new grazing ground, a short distance farther from the settlement, but more sheltered than where they passed the previous winter. Here herdsmen were engaged, whose first care was to lay in a sufficient quantity of hay; then they built warm sheds. The stockholders were called on for five shillings sterling per share, to defray these extra expenses. The cattle were driven in every night, and after the winter set in were regularly fed. As a further precaution against neglect, it was arranged that each director, in his turn, should visit the cattle once a week. No plan, whatever, could be devised to prevent the ravages of the wolves, which killed twenty notwithstanding the care taken, and to the above loss we may add that of sixteen that died of cold. The stockholders were discouraged by every fresh loss, and all interested in the business were loud in their demands to put an end to the concern. In October, 1834, the herd was disposed of by auction, and the shareholders realized the full amount of their in-put, but sacrificed the interest of their stock for two years. For some years, the history of the colony may be said to consist of series of speculations. Notwithstanding the failure of the flax and hemp scheme, and the more than probable failure of the "tallow trade" project, Governor Simpson seemed, in spite of all difficulties, determined to confer some permanent benefit on the colony. In 1833, he turned his attention to the introduction of sheep, which was always

one of his most favored designs. For the accomplishment of this object, he proposed the formation of a joint stock company in order to raise the sum of £1,200, to be laid out in the purchase of sheep in the United States, and in bringing them from there to Red River. This plan was accepted with great readiness, and the money as readily paid. The Governor offered to send Mr. Rae, a clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company's service to superintend the buying and bringing of the sheep to the colony. With him was associated Mr. J. P. Bourke, whom we had occasion to notice in a former part of this work. These gentlemen with only four men, late in the season, crossed the inhospitable plains to St. Peter's. From St. Peter's their course was directed to St. Louis and from thence through the state of Missouri, where it was expected the sheep would have been purchased, in which case their return home would be comparatively easy. But, unfortunately, while here the leaders quarreled. Mr. Rae was young and full of energy, haughty and over-bearing in his disposition, which rendered him a very unsafe counsellor and unpleasant companion, while, at the same-time, he was entirely destitute of the experience and tact which distinguished his more sagacious, but equally high-minded colleague.

The occasion of their rupture was this: On arriving in Missouri the price of sheep was found to be from 5s. to 7s. 6d. a head, but, not very numerous ; and the people, believing from report that the strangers were intending to buy some thousands instead of a few hundred, were in consequence so ill-advised as to demand from the strangers 10s. per head. Mr. Rae took offence at this attempt at extortion, as he considered it, and though the sheep were offered afterwards at 7s. 6d. per head, he refused to deal with the Missourians and pushed on for Kentucky, a further distance of 450 miles. Remontrances proved vain ; to all that Mr. Bourke could urge on the score of increased difficulty in the transport of the flocks and other adverse contingencies, Mr.

Rae turned a deaf ear, and followed the bent of his wayward inclination. After this misunderstanding, Mr Bourke declined taking any active part in the management of affairs during the whole journey. After a variety of adventures and loss of time the party reached Kentucky, and found that the price of sheep there differed very little from what they could have bought them at in Missouri, being from 5s. to 7s. a head. Here the number required was completed, viz., 1,475; but on the way back they began to meet with the difficulties that the sagacious Bourke foresaw and foretold. They had to pay for pasture every night, and whenever they halted during the day; besides, many sheep died from the effect of hard driving. On their way up the Mississippi they gave another instance of the wisdom of their management; they saw that the sheep were suffering from the burden and heat of their fleeces, and at a certain place they halted to clip them, and agreed with a certain individual to let him have all the wool at a fixed price. The following day the wool was to be delivered and the money paid, but the individual not being able to raise the full amount, could not get wool to the value of the cash he had. At the same time, a number of poor people had collected about the place and made several offers, according to their means, for portions of the wool; but their united offers falling short of the original valuation, they were rejected with contempt, and the wool was ordered to be burnt on the spot, which indicated neither wisdom nor humanity. The former would say, sell the wool for what the people are able to give for it, which in all probability would have amounted to a few hundred dollars; the latter would say, if the people be too poor to buy, better that it should clothe the needy than that it should be burnt. Giving it away might answer a good object; it could not fail to enlist in their behalf the friendship of those among whom they were travelling, which, no doubt, would be of some value. Had the sheep been purchased in Missouri they might have been in Red River before the excessive heats of

July and August had come on, and before the tall coarse grass on the plains had come to its height.

Many localities in those plains produce a species of plant which, in its mature state, is armed with sharp barbed spines, which penetrated the sheeps' skins as they walked through the grass and finally caused death, which, with over-driving, killed the helpless creatures by tens and by twenties every day. It was currently reported and believed that 1,200 of these over-driven and helpless animals perished from the cause already referred to, or by the knife, between St. Peter's and Pembina. It is distressing to relate that every sheep that failed to keep up with the flock was doomed to have its throat cut by order of the men who had so unfortunately been trusted with their safety. The agents in these butcheries did not hesitate to inform the writer that in one morning only, while at breakfast, the bloody knife deprived no less a number than forty-four of life. The leaders, as became men in their position, rode in advance of their charge, and every now and then some one of the men would have to ride up to them with the news that so many of the sheep could not be made to move on. "Cut their throats and drive on," was the invariable order. A few days' rest, say one in seven, would have enabled these worn-out animals to recruit their strength, or even a few hours each alternate day allowed them to rest and feed might have enabled many of those whose lives had been cut short by the knife to perform the journey. On their arrival on the top waters of Red River, they came to a camp of Sioux, or met with a party of that nation, who received them kindly. These Indians were headed by the great war chief, Wanata, who, with a number of his braves, escorted them and hunted for them until they arrived at Pembina; yet, such was the intensity of their longing for home that even while protected and provided for by the Great Chief, they drove on without stop or stay, heedless of the wanton and barbarous butchery of many of their charge every day, which so disgusted the drivers that

they refused to use the knife any longer in shedding innocent blood, leaving the business in the hands of their superiors. However, they arrived in the settlement in the latter end of September with 251 sheep, a few of which died afterwards in consequence of the hardships they had undergone by the way. Notwithstanding the facts related above, the Governor and Managing Committee presented the leaders of the enterprise with a vote of thanks, in which they were sustained by the farmers, who, having to run with their few and hard-earned pennies to the stores to buy clothing for their households, now rejoiced at the fact that so many of these useful animals had been brought into the settlement, believing that in time, with ordinary care, they might be increased to any number; but there was another party, to wit, the petty shop-keepers, who, influenced by the Governor, advanced a few pounds each to the undertaking, but who never intended to be troubled with the care of sheep, and only expected their advances to be paid back after the flock would arrive and be disposed of. However, as the business had been so mismanaged, they saw no immediate prospect of having their cash returned, and were, in consequence, ready to pass a vote of censure on the Governor, and on all who did not think as they thought; so, to silence their clamor, the Governor declared that he was ready to pay back all the money that had been subscribed, and that he would keep the sheep until they would become numerous enough to give each of those who would be desirous of having a few a chance to buy; that, in the mean-time, he would give them in charge to the manager of the Company's experimental farm. The croakers pocketed their cash again. Many of the poorer class left their money in the Company's hands for two or three years, until the sheep had been auctioned, when they were so keenly competed for that one with another they sold for two pounds sterling each.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EXPERIMENTAL FARMS—EARLY PRODUCE MARKETS—SALE OF THE COLONY TO THE HUDSON'S BAY CO.—THE FRENCH HALF-BREEDS THREATEN TO REVENGE AN ASSAULT COMMITTED ON ONE OF THEIR NUMBER—THE HUDSON'S BAY CO. FORCED TO MAKE SLIGHT CONCESSIONS.

We have alluded to the experimental farm which had been commenced a few years previous to the sheep adventure. The site chosen for the undertaking was a low alluvial flat near the Assiniboine River, and at a short distance from Upper Fort Garry. What object the Council of the fur trade had in view, when it sanctioned this new idea that had its origin in Governor Simpson's fertile brain, we cannot say. However, a first-class dwelling-house had been erected; barns, stables and cow-houses were provided; and animals of the best breeds were purchased to stock the farm. A stallion was imported from England, at a cost of £300, to improve the breed of horses; breeding mares were also imported from the United States at great expense. The most improved implements for working the farm were procured, and the dairy was furnished with equal care. We might reasonably expect that an undertaking so liberally provided for would succeed, but practical and skilful agriculturists were not employed. The choice of a manager to carry out this great design was made by the Governor and his Councillors of the fur trade, who appointed Chief Factor McMillan, a gentleman of the fur trade, well known for his activity and perseverance, but unacquainted with agricultural operations even on the smallest scale; and who was considered by nine-tenths of those who knew him best as altogether unqualified for the right discharge of the duties

of the office in which the Governor's influence and partiality had placed him. The servants engaged to labor on the farm were, with few exceptions, half-breeds, who had been accustomed to hunt the buffalo and drive dogs, and knew no more about farm work than the red man of the surrounding forests and plains. The dairy maids had, as a rule, been brought up on the plains or at some of the trading posts in the north, and, consequently, knew nothing of butter and cheese making. Flax and hemp were both sown and grew to perfection, but after having been pulled were allowed to rot. Here we shall quote the words of a writer who lived in the vicinity of the experimental farm, and who was in Hudson's Bay men's confidence.*

The thousands that were lavished on this scheme from beginning to end were rendered nugatory by the foolish desire of placing a favorite in a comfortable situation. After six years trial, when the whole was sold off, the dead loss to the Company amounted to £3,500 sterling. Indeed, it was the general opinion at the time that, had the truth been told, the actual loss would have been more than double that sum. Still the colony derived some advantage from the undertaking; for example, the breed of horses was decidedly improved. The manager, who was in receipt of a Chief Factor's share of the profits made on the fur trade, having secured a competency for after life, retired to his native land, and the concern was closed. Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory results of former experiments, the directors of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company declared their determination to make another effort for the good of their colony, for at the period of which we are writing, the Company had purchased the young Earl of Selkirk's interest in the colony.† To carry their intention into operation, a half-

* A. Ross.

† In 1835 the Earl of Selkirk transferred the colony to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company, with all the land that that body had granted in 1811 to Thomas, Earl of Selkirk, and at the same time paid to the Earl about £84,000 to reimburse him for his outlay in establishing the colony. This was done to give the Company undivided control in the land and the government of the country.

pay officer, with six or seven men with their families, were engaged in England, and embarked for Hudson's Bay in the ship of 18 36, but did not arrive in the settlement till the following year. Captain George Marcus Cary, the gentleman alluded to, was engaged in London at a high salary; but, not relishing life on the frozen shores of the Bay, travelled, in winter, to the settlement, where he arrived in March, and took up his abode in Fort Garry. After taking a look at the several localities in the vicinity of that establishment, he made up his mind to commence perations on the rich, flat, alluvial point north of where the Assiniboine enters the Red River, adjoining the site of old Fort Garry. Lumbermen were sent to the forests, timber rafted down to the chosen place; builders were employed to erect new houses for the reception of those who passed the winter at York Factory and who arrived in the colony late in July, 1837, and numbered about twenty souls. This grand establishment was supplied with the most improved and costly implements, imported from England, on a scale far beyond anything hitherto known in this land.

The strangers were loud in expatiating on the advantage of skill and system combined. They not unfrequently boasted of the wonders that they would perform, not only in raising cereals, but in every other branch of husbandry, and the profitable results that would follow—first to their employers, then to the settlers one and all, who, if not destitute of common sense, could not fail to benefit largely by their example. Deep interest was excited; all listened in mute admiration. The Captain, full of great projects, raised the expectations of all his acquaintances to the highest pitch; and the opinion became general that the third experimental farm was sure to succeed, and supply the Company with all the farm produce that would be required for carrying on the trade, thereby closing the *little market* that had hitherto been open to the settlers for the sale of their produce. The spring of 1838 saw the new comers in full operation, about twenty

acres were ploughed and put under crop. An area of 80 or 100 acres was enclosed, one half of which was allowed to remain undisturbed by the plough ; so that by degrees our fears were disappointed, for the experimental farm produced little, if any, more than was required to feed those who labored on it, and the settlers continued to take as much wheat to the Company's stores as they had been accustomed to take before the commencement of the model farm, namely, eight bushels a year could be sold by the farmer who had no other way of gaining a shilling. Hunters and trip-men were favored with a market for four bushels from each at 3s. 6d. per bushel ; importers and mechanics could sell no grain at the Company's stores, which state of things shows conclusively that the settlers raised abundance of grain for their own use and, in the aggregate, ten times more than the market demanded. Yet, as soon as Chief Factor McMillan had left his establishment, Captain Cary was on his way to form another—and all for the benefit of the colony.

We may ask here, was such a project calculated to benefit the settlers ? We do not hesitate to say that it was not ; but that its success would have closed against them the limited market that they had hitherto, and might have been the means of sending numbers of industrious men to seek homes in other lands.

The Company, we believe, was favorable to the colony, while it existed on a small scale, as it supplied that body with provisions and men in the heart of their trading districts, and helped to give a tone to its proceedings at home, which eclat that politic body knew well how to turn to serve its own purposes, as is to be seen by the reports submitted to the Colonial Office in 1836 and 1837 by Governors Simpson and Pelly, when soliciting the renewal of license. These gentlemen did not scruple to claim the merit of having some Catholic and two Protestant Missionaries with thirteen schools in Red River. We know that the late Bishop of Juliopolis received a salary from the Company,

and so did, as we have said, the two Missionaries of the Church of England. The high school at St. Johns was patronized by the wintering partners, whose children were the only pupils that were admitted, and on it the fur trade Council bestowed an annual grant of £100; but the unfortunate twelve schools, where the plebean multitude received all the education that fell to their lot, were unendowed, and even unknown to the nabobs of the fur trade; yet the two Governors dragged them in to do duty on the above occasion, and so were the experimental farms. A flock of two or three hundred sheep was for sometime on the farm; shepherds were brought from Scotland to manage them, and a few animals of a superior breed had been brought from England by Captain Cary to improve the original stock. The wool was annually sold at auction, and averaged about twenty-five cents per pound. The animals, as we have stated above, were sold off to the settlers.

The laborers brought from England became notorious in the settlement, for their beer drinking habits, and as their contracts expired, their superior was but too well pleased to sign their discharge, and get clear of such unprofitable servants. The Captain occupied the farm from March, 1837, to June, 1847, ten years and a few months. Then he left with his family for Canada, and we cannot forbear stating that, whichever way the speculation affected the Hon. Company's interests, we believe that it must have proved a very profitable speculation to him.

Having set before the reader all the reliable history of the three experimental farms that we could collect, we shall, with his permission, turn back to the memorable year of 1835—memorable from two events that transpired in it, namely: the sale of the colony to the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company, and the first *émeute* or riotous gathering of the French half-breeds of the place. The people from one end of the settlement to the other were discontented, if not irritated, at the high price set on the land in 1833, *i.e.*, 10s.

6d. per acre. The following year it was raised to 12s. 6d. per acre, and old servants who had a few pounds of their hard-earned wages in the Company's hands were made to pay that amount. It is true all who could not pay for land might *squat* on unoccupied land, but could not obtain any legal title to the same and might at any time be ejected and forfeit their improvements. The thoughts of the insecure tenure by which they held their little property made the laboring class very uneasy in general, but more especially the young people of mixed blood, who not only declared the price to be unreasonable but declared loudly that the Company was robbing them of lands that descended to them from their maternal ancestors.

And while the public mind was in this unsettled state, an incident, trifling in itself, roused the indignation of the French half-breed population to the highest pitch.

Before relating the above referred to incident, we must, by way of explanation, inform the reader that the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company employed, during the season of open water, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men in their boats to transport goods, furs, etc. These tripmen depended for the support of their families during the winter, on what they gained by voyaging in the summer, but, as a rule, they were one-half their summer's work in debt. When the boatmen returned to the colony in October, whatever balance, if any, would be due to each would be paid. After a few days' idleness and gossip the money would be spent. Want would begin to press. A new engagement must be entered into. The contract once signed, a certain portion of the promised wages would be paid down, another would become payable at Christmas, and another part when ready to enter on their long and laborious voyage either to Portage LaLoche or to York Factory on Hudson's Bay. But as we mean more fully hereafter to treat of the system on which the freighters carried on their business, suffice it to say here that in 1834 Mr. Thomas Simpson was accountant at Upper

Fort Garry, part of whose duty it was to agree with the voyageurs, keep their accounts, and pay the promised wages at the dfferent periods stated in the contracts. Christmas was one of these stated periods and a season when all who felt inclined to indulge in intoxicating drinks, and could pay for the same, hurried to Fort Garry in crowds. The tripmen, as a rule, appeared before the accountant, who paid to each individual the amount due. For some hours the business in the office and in the sale shop was done in a quiet and orderly manner until Larocque, a French half-breed, entered the office and asked for his money. Mr. Simpson, not relishing his presence, applied some uncourteous epithets to him, which called forth a retort that provoked Mr. Simpson to so great a degree that he lost all power of self-control, and seizing the fire-poker, he struck Larocque on the head, setting an inch or two of the skull bare.

The wounded man rushed out of the office where he had been so unceremoniously treated and joined his friends, who were in considerable numbers in the Fort. They could scarcely believe the evidence of their own eyes when they was their countryman covered with his own blood, and endeavoring, as far as his excited state of mind permitted, to explain what had taken place in the office. The multitude looked upon him as unjustly and cruelly treated, and consequently determined to make common cause with him and take the redress of his grievance into their own hands. However, in the meantime, they offered no insult or violence to any one, but retired, in the first instance, peaceably to their individual homes; but fame had preceded them, and in its own way had given various editions of the affair that had occured at the Fort. The all engrossing subject flew from village to village, from house to house and from man to man; the passions were roused; the people unanimously persuaded themselves that the blow inflicted on Larocque was an insult to the entire French half-breed race; "We must

be avenged"—"We must retaliate," was the cry. In the space of a few hours, all the French half-breeds had assembled in the vicinity of the Fort; a council was held, where it was decided that Mr. Simpson must be delivered up to them, to be dealt with according to their understanding of the law of retaliation, or, if the modest demand would not be complied with, they declared that they would demolish Fort Garry and take Simpson by force. The demand and threat were transmitted to the Governor of the colony, and at the same time, to prepare themselves for action, the war song and war dance, in true Indian style, were commenced. Several messages passed now between the parties, all to no purpose.

Finally, it was resolved to send a deputation to the enraged multitude to settle the dispute, if possible, before it would be too late. For the accomplishment of that desirable object, a deputation was sent formed of the following gentlemen, namely, Mr. Governor Christie, Chief Factor Cameron, Robert Logan, Esquire, and Alexander Ross, Esquire, both merchants in the colony. The embassy left Fort Garry at ten o'clock, on a cold and stormy winter night. The scene that presented itself to them on entering the house where the hostile party were assembled was truly wild and savage; in the words of one of the mediators, "They resembled a troop of furies more than human beings." All occupied in the Indian dance and excited to the highest degree, some time passed before the tumult had sufficiently subsided to give his Honor and his friends the chance of being heard, and after they had been heard, reason proved, for a time, to be but a feeble weapon against infuriated brute force. Nevertheless, after a parley of some hours, and after some concessions had been made to the aggrieved party, the difficulty was settled, the diplomatists no doubt claiming great credit to themselves for the dexterity which they displayed in the management of their difficult and even dangerous negotiations. However, we must remark here that after the

above trifling concessions had been made, the bearing of the half-breeds became haughtier than ever.

The wounded man was paid the full amount of his wages for the trip and was allowed to remain at home. His sympathizers were presented with a ten-gallon keg of rum, and tobacco.

In the following spring, another physical demonstration took place before the gates of the Fort. A number of demands were made, as follows: 1st. The prices of provisions were to be raised. 2nd. An export was demanded for tallow, robes and other articles procured by the chase.

They loudly protested against any import duty being levied on goods imported from the United States, for many of the French Canadians and half-breeds, both French and English, had already made several trips to the Mississippi, exporting horn cattle, horses, furs and some articles of colonial industry, and, on their return, bringing home cotton goods, groceries, ammunition, tobacco, &c., &c.

These bold adventurers considered themselves entitled to exemption from import duty on two grounds: 1st On account of their having established commercial intercourse with the neighboring states. 2nd. On account of the great danger incurred on their journey to and fro. Their demand fell on deaf ears, the Colonial Governor and his Council were exclusionists and all interested to defeat every attempt to export the produce of the country, or to introduce foreign manufactured goods, except *viâ* Hudson's Bay. Yet these hostile demonstrations and demands were not unproductive of some advantage, especially to intending settlers, as the salutary fear which they impressed on our men in power, was the cause of reducing the price of land from twelve shillings and sixpence per acre to seven shillings and sixpence. And at the same time, to please the native youth, it was decided by the land agents, that each young man on settling on land should receive twenty-five acres gratis.

CHAPTER X.

THE NEW COUNCIL—LAWS PASSED—THE LAW COURTS—JUDICIAL DISTRICTS—POLITICS—INTRODUCTION OF THE JURY SYSTEM—PUBLIC FLOGGING AND ITS RESULTS—DAMAGE BY FROSTS—NON-ARRIVAL OF SUPPLIES.

We have stated that in 1835 the colony was transferred for a money consideration by the young Earl of Selkirk to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company. This change of sovereigns was only known for some time to the chosen few. The multitude were kept in the dark on the great change that had taken place in the proprietorship of the colony, and believed themselves to be still his Lordship of Selkirk's liege subjects. From the commencement of the settlement up to the time of which we are writing, a period of twenty-four years, we may say that the community held together without any other rule to guide its members than the golden one, "Do to others as you would wish others to do to you." It is true, during the above period we had a dignatary bearing the title of Governor who had his staff of Senators, who, in their united capacity, were to make laws to regulate the actions of the settlers. They were the sole judges of the laws, and were entrusted with the power of executing their own sentences. Yet, although the colonists were composed of various nationalities and professing different creeds, such was the kindly feeling and good faith that existed among them that legislators, judges and bailiffs found very little to do, except when called upon to defend the Hon. Company's exclusive right to deal in furs; but the threats and demands made by the half-breed population at this time pointed out to the stockholders the necessity of establishing a stronger form of Government in the colony for the accomplishment of that object. The Governor's former advisers, with a few

other gentlemen, were selected and commissioned by the Board of Directors in London, and these officials, with the Governor-in-Chief at their head, formed the Legislative Council, impowered to make laws for the punishment of parties guilty of crime; they were also empowered to make laws to regulate civil affairs among their subjects. To initiate the new order of things, His Excellency summoned the Councillors to meet him on the 12th day of February, 1835, at Upper Fort Garry, and here we shall place before our readers the President's opening address, which will confirm what we have already said of the state of society in previous years:

"Gentlemen," said Mr. George Simpson, "in order to guard as much as possible against misapprehension within doors, or misrepresentation out of doors, on the subjects which I am now about to bring under your consideration, I shall then briefly notice them. From their importance they cannot fail of calling forth due attention, and from the deep and lively interest you all feel in the welfare and prosperity of the colony, I am satisfied you will afford me the best of your assistance and support towards carrying into effect such measures as may appear to you best calculated, under existing circumstances, to answer every desirable object.

"The population of the colony is become so great, amounting to about 5,000 souls, that the personal influence of the Governor and the little more than nominal support afforded by the police, which, together with the good feeling of the people, have heretofore been its principal safeguard, are no longer sufficient to maintain the tranquility and good government of the settlement, so that, although rights of property have of late been frequently invaded and other serious offences committed, I am concerned to say, we were under the necessity of allowing them to pass unnoticed, because we have not the means at command of enforcing obedience and due respect, on account of the existing state of things.

"Under such circumstances, it must be evident to one and all of you that it is quite impossible society can hold together; that the time is at length arrived when it becomes necessary to put the administration of justice on a more firm and regular footing than heretofore, and immediate steps ought to be taken to guard against danger from abroad or difficulties at home, for the maintenance of good order and tranquility, and for the security and protecion of lives and property."

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Sir George Simpson, Governor of Rupert's Land, President.
Alexr. Christie, Governor of Assinniboia (colony), Councillor.
The Right Revd. Bishop of Juliopolis (now N.W.), Councillor.
The Revd. D. T. Jones, Chaplain to H.B.C., Councillor.
The Revd. William Cochran, Assistant Chaplain to H.B.C., Councillor.
James Bird, Esq., formerly Chief Factor to H.B.C. "
James Sutherland, Esq. " " "
W. H. Cook, Esq. " " "

John Pritchard, Esq , Councillor.
Robert Logan, Esq " "
Alexander Ross, Esq., Sheriff of Assiniboia, Councillor.
John McAllum, Esq , Coroner, Councillor.
John Bunn, Esq , Medical Adviser, Councillor.
Andrew McDermott, Esq , Merchant, "
Cuthbert Grant, Warden of the Plains, Councillor.

The majority of the Council thus appointed were, no doubt, the wealthiest men in the colony and generally well informed ; yet, their appointment was far from being acceptable to the people, who knew that they were either sinecurists or salaried servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and consequently were not the fittest men to legislate for a people who retained some faint recollections of the manner in which the popular branch of the legislature of their native land was appointed, and who never ceased to inveigh against the arbitrary manner in which the Governor-in-Chief chose the legislators who were to frame the laws which were intended to regulate our actions and dispose of our property. Professional men who never intended to make the colony their permanent residence and superannuated fur traders, had but little knowledge of the wants and desires of the people, who, in return, never placed that degree of confidence in the Council that they would have done, had its members been from all classes and not exclusively from those who were dependent on the ruling power for the good things they enjoyed.*

At this meeting a number of resolutions were passed and became law, most of which gave some satisfaction for a time. Following are the most important of them :—

1st. That an efficient and disposable force be embodied, to be styled a volunteer corps, to consist of sixty officers and privates, to be at all times ready to act when called upon, and to be paid as follows :—Commanding officer, £20 per annum ; sergeants, £10 ; and the privates, £6 sterling, besides extra pay for serving writs ; when not so employed

* A Representative Council was loudly demanded by some.

their time to be their own. Of this corps Alexander Ross, Esq., was appointed commanding officer.

2nd That the settlement be divided into four districts: the first to extend from the Image downwards; the second from the Image Plains to the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers; the third from the Forks upwards on the Red River, and the fourth the White Horse Plains or Assiniboine River; and, that for each of the said districts a magistrate be appointed. That James Bird, Esquire, be Justice of the Peace for the first district; James Sutherland, Esquire, for the second, Robert Logan, Esquire, for the third and Cuthbert Grant, Esquire, for the fourth; these magistrates to hold quarterly courts of summary jurisdiction on four successive Mondays, to be appointed according to the existing order of precedence in the four sections, beginning with the third Monday in January, in April, in July, and in October.

3rd. That the said courts have power to pronounce final judgment in all civil cases where the debt or the damage claimed may not exceed five pounds; and in all cases of trespass or misdemeanors, which by the rules and regulations of the district of Aissinniboia, not being repugnant to the laws of England, may be punished by a fine not exceeding the aforesaid sum of five pounds.

4th. That the said courts be empowered to refer any case of doubt or difficulty to the supreme tribunal of the colony, the court of Governor and Council of Assinniboia, at its next ensuing quarterly session, by giving a *viva voce* intimation of the reference in open court, and a written notice of the same under the hands of a majority of the three sitting magistrates, at least one whole week before the commencement of the said quarterly session, and this without being compelled to state any reason for so doing.

5th. That the court of Governor and Council in its judicial capacity sit on the third Thursday of February, of May, of August and of November, and at such other times as the

Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land, or, in his absence, the Governor of Assinniboia, may deem fit.

6th. That in all contested civil cases which may involve claims of more than ten pounds, and in all criminal cases, the verdict of a jury shall determine the fact or facts in dispute.

7th. That a public building, intended to answer the double purpose of a Court House and gaol be erected as early as possible at the Forks of the Red and Assinniboine Rivers. That in order to raise funds for defraying such expenses as it may be found necessary to incur towards the maintenance of order and the erecting of public works, an import duty shall be levied on all goods and merchandise of foreign manufacture imported into Red River Colony, either for sale or for use, at 7½ per cent. on the amount of invoice; and further, that an export duty of 7½ per cent. be levied on all goods, provisions and live stock, being the growth, produce or manufacture of the Red River Colony.

At the close of the business Governor Simpson mentioned that the fur trade would make a grant of £300 in aid of public works in Red River. On this being announced, a vote of thanks was returned to the Governor and Council of Rupert's Land for their liberal grant. The Council then adjourned.

This gift from the Fur Trade Council, which indicated both wisdom and liberality, was given at the critical time for it enabled the local authorities to procure timber and build the Court House and gaol.

We have stated above that the people looked on the constitution of the Council with dislike, because they saw that the Church and the Hudson's Bay Company were the only parties represented in it. Next, the duty of 7½ per cent. on all imports was considered oppressive, as all kind of merchandise were selling at the time at 100 to 150 per cent. on the prime cost, and it was argued by hunters and farmers that the consumers would not only have to pay the 7½ to

the importer, but afford the latter a plausible pretence for adding 7½ per cent. more to their selling price. The like duty of 7½ per cent. on all exports of Red River produce, except furs and robes, may be termed foolish and impolitic, the exports being of small value at the time, and besides, public feeling was decidedly against it.

The population of the colony at this time might be divided into two distinct parties, each having its own peculiar political views and interests. The political views and interests of the agriculturist differed from those of the buffalo hunter. To these we must add a third party, namely, the governing party or company, as merchants or fur-traders, always few in number, but who arrogated all legislative and judicial powers to themselves. Even-handed justice, nay, true policy demanded that these widely different interests should be represented in the Council. Notwithstanding the condition of things was much improved in the colony; the general quarterly court met on the appointed days; the Governor of the colony presided *ex-officio*, and was assisted by a bench of magistrates. The jury system was introduced, and that public institution became an indispensible portion of the court, and contributed greatly to reconcile the public mind to the court and to the decisions given in it; and being without a voters' roll, the Sheriff, as a rule, called out the most intelligent men in the community to act, who were gratified by being called upon to aid the great men of the land in dispensing justice to their fellow-colonists. The jurymen formed a link between the governing class and the governed, and used their influence to create a spirit of unanimity in all classes of our little community.

The 28th day of April, 1836, beheld the first jury impanneled in Assinniboia, when they had to try one Louis St. Dennis for theft. They brought in a verdict of guilty. The unfortunate St. Dennis was sentenced to be there and then publicly whipped. The novelty of a court composed of a bench of magistrates and jury drew large crowds together

to witness the proceedings. A strong police force was in attendance, and formed a ring round the executioner while performing his duty; that finished, the police dispersed. The flogger appeared defenceless before the multitude, who viewed with indignation the unusual spectacle of a white man tied to a cart's tail, stripped naked and flogged. One threw a clod or a stone at him, others followed the example, and all began to call at the height of their voices, "Borreau! Borreau!" Stone him! Stone him! The terrified German, for such he was, fled, as he no doubt believed for life, but he had not proceeded many yards before he fell headlong into a pit. On seeing his sad mishap his mischievous pursuers burst into a loud fit of laughter mingled with hisses and execrations. Here the police interfered, dragged the woe-begone official out of the pit, and guarded him in the Fort until the people had gone away.

Public opinion was so strong against the above mode of punishment that, after five years had run their round, when a similar sentence had been passed for a similar offence, not a person could be procured to perform the disagreeable and dangerous duty out doors; therefore, on that second occasion the duty had to be performed in the prison, the official being masked, and for further security locked up until dark where he was.

The year 1836 was productive of a series of failures and consequent disappointments. On the seventh or eighth night of June a hard frost fell on some localities and cut down not only the tender grain and root crops but withered the leaves on the deciduous trees. However, the second or third day after the frost a thunder storm with heavy rain came on, and on strong rich land the wheat and potatoe crops recovered, but the barley where frozen died out. Notwithstanding, the husbandman expected to reap an average harvest, but to his sad dismay, on the night of the 19th of August, a heavy frost injured the standing wheat even where the ear was full, and rendered what had been sown late useless, even for seed

Here we may remark that the plain-hunters returned from their summer trip with little more than half loads. And to add to the above misfortunes, the colony was for a time threatened with a dearth of European manufactured goods. The tripmen, who were chiefly French half-breeds, had been engaged, in course of the preceding winter and spring, to make two trips to York Factory. The first trip was satisfactorily performed, but, when assembled in the beginning of August to start on the second trip, they refused to go, although paid to a considerable amount in advance. Notwithstanding their ill-humor, after a few deys delay, they were persuaded to enter on the voyage, but it was deemed necessary to send Mr. Cuthbert Grant, Deputy Sheriff and Warden of the Plains, in charge of the brigade, to keep the fickle crews to their duty and prevent further disobedience.

The boats, in due time, arrived at the great depôt of the Northern Department, and expected to receive their loads from the ship of the season; but no ship had as yet arrived on the coast, and the advanced state of the season pointed out, even to the hardy Warden of the Plains, the necessity of turning his back on the icy shores of Hudson's Bay, and proceeding to the warmer regions of the south; but they could only obtain half cargoes, for in those days of rigid economy a single year's supply of goods was all that was annually imported, it being considered that a year's interest was lost to those concerned on all the stock on hand after the year's trade had been closed. The few private merchants who sent their boats to the Bay expecting to receive by the ship the supply they ordered from England had to return empty.

Note.—This closes that portion of the history written by the late Hon. Mr. Gunn; no changes whatever have been made in the manuscript, except to divide it into ten chapters, for general convenience. Mr. Gunn's portion of the work covers a period from the first exploration of the Red River country to the close of 1836.

CHAPTER XI.

THE OBJECTIONAL MONOPOLY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY CO.—SETTLERS FRETTING UNDER THE YOKE OF OPPRESSION—THE EARLY TARIFF—LONG DELAYED VENGEANCE—GROWING BREACH BETWEEN METIS AND THE HUDSON'S BAY CO.—THE INDIANS AND THE HALF-BREEDS—WAR AND PEACE—ARRIVAL OF THE SIXTH ROYALS—THE METIS RESISTING THE AUTHORITY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY CO.—CELEBRATING THEIR SUCCESS.

As we have seen from Mr. Gunn's narrative, the year 1836 was the commencement of a series of changes in the political status of the people in the Red River country. It is the year from which the first constitutional or legal rights may be said to date. Ever since communication had first been established with the village, now the city of St. Paul, in Minnesota, the yoke of the Hudson's Bay Company had been unceasingly obnoxious to both English and French half-breeds. Their eyes had been opened by contact with a similar class which occupied the frontiers of the then territory of Minnesota, and they had returned, year after year, to the Red River settlement to tell their friends and relatives that in the country so near to them it was no crime to trade for a mink skin or a buffalo robe with an Indian, and that the profits of the trade in furs belonged to whoever were adventurous enough to seek them in the Indian camps.

The contrast was so great with the position in which they were placed by the assumption on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company of the right to the exclusive trade in furs, that it gave rise to a number of collisions between, particularly, the French Metis of that day and the Hudson's Bay Company's officers in Fort Garry. To properly understand

the position which the Hudson's Bay Company held in the country at the time, it is necessary to remember that up to that period they had claimed as a right under their charter, arbitrarily enforced, the complete monopoly of the fur trade. It had been made a criminal offence, not only to be found bartering with an Indian for his furs, but even to have furs in his possession, unless he could show that he had purchased them from the Hudson's Bay Company; and such purchase meaning his paying to the Hudson's Bay Company not the prices which they obtained at Fort Garry, but the prices which the fur in question had brought at the last great annual sale of the Hudson's Bay Company in London.

In the execution of this law, as we have seen, suspected houses were frequently searched, and the constables of that day were enjoined to make every endeavor to ascertain the secret hiding-places where furs were supposed to be stored. To this end the constable was frequently armed with a long pole to push up the clay chimney of that period, as furs were sometimes found secreted near the top. If even a mink skin was discovered in the house of the unfortunate Metis, he was immediately brought before an officer of the Fort who exercised magisterial powers, and either committed for trial at some future period or made to suffer pains and penalties on the spot.

All this was done in such an overbearing manner that it pressed heavily upon the free spirit of the buffalo hunting class particularly. These men, accustomed to the use of arms and spending many months of the summer in the extreme west, away from the galling thralls of the Hudson's Bay Company, frequently met in council over this matter, and came to conclusions which speedily brought on the collisions of which Mr. Gunn has spoken in the preceding chapter. These conflicts always resulted in advantage to the settlers. If they did not receive the precise concession which they asked for, some other was usually given. These victories on the part of the governed speedily gave rise to

demands upon the governing party, which, though modest at first, soon increased to the extent, or nearly the extent, of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the same class in the frontier settlements of the United States.

The governing class felt that the time had come when at least a show of consulting the wishes of the people should be made. Hitherto the officer in charge at Fort Garry occupied the position of chief maker and chief executor of the laws. He had a few Councillors of the same stripe to assist him, and constables had been appointed to carry out their mandates. All points in dispute were settled by the Governor himself, or not settled at all; and so long as monoply was recognized, and every energy of the people was made tributary to the Hudson's Bay Company, so long did the system work smoothly.

During all these political changes the colonists had been kept in the dark. They did not even know that the settlement, by purchase from Lord Selkirk, had become virtually the Company's own property. This discovery was made by chance. Until this time the people were under the persuasion that the colony still belonged to the executors of Lord Selkirk, and by this deception the Company kept themselves clear of all responsibility for whatever transpired. To give an appearance of consulting the wishes of the people, it was determined to add new Councillors chosen from among the people of the colony outside of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, to give effect to this new order of things, the Council already spoken of by Mr. Gunn convened at Upper Fort Garry on the 12th day of February, 1835. The population of the colony looked with a jealous eye upon the constitution of this new Council, and remarked upon the fact that only one member was in a position, if he had the inclination, to take an independent stand for their rights and privileges. They saw, too, that the heavy duty of seven and a-half per cent. on all imports was specially aimed at those who were trading outside of the Hudson's

Bay Company; and they saw in the proposal to constitute a volunteer corps an effort on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to be able to enforce by military measures, if necessary, their enactments, however objectionable they might be to the people for whom they were made. Still the concession of some form of government was, in a measure, satisfactory, and it was hoped that perhaps the Company, having been taught a lesson, might not object during the coming winter to the chance trade of a few skins.

The new laws, however, were not brought into operation without more or less difficulty; especially was this the case in respect of the penalty of public flogging, which was not attempted after the first unfortunate experiment.

In August, 1836, the annual ship from London to York Factory was driven from her moorings at the latter place by the storm, and the Captain instead of trying to re-enter the harbor, made sail, with all the supplies of that year for the colony, back to England. Following this disaster was the cold, drizzly and frosty weather of October, which almost utterly destroyed the fall fisheries, with the consequent loss to the colony of that which had constituted heretofore their principal supply of provisions for the winter.

From the period we have mentioned of the first introduction of the so-called constitutional laws into the settlement, the system worked with varying success, but without the aid of lawyers. The seven and a-half per cent. duty on imports, which was found obnoxious and oppressive from the first, had to be recinded by Order in Council, and reduced first to five and then to four per cent., at which rate it remained until the transfer of the country to Canada.

The clamoring of the population for something better than the arbitrary justice administered by the Magistracy appointed by the Council necessitated the importation by the Company of a lawyer, who, under the title of Recorder of Rupert's Land, was to have all the powers of a Judge in Red River. As Recorder of Rupert's Land, no objection was

raised, but as a Judge to deal with cases, many of which were between the settlers and the Company themselves, it was felt that justice was more likely to be obtained from someone who was not a paid servant of the Company, drawing, as he did in this case, the liberal salary of £700 sterling per annum. In other respects, Judge Thom, the gentleman appointed, was of standing and ability quite equal to the position which he filled. Many objected to him on the ground that he could not speak French, which at this time was the language spoken by the majority of the population. It was said, too, that during the Papineau troubles in Canada he was no favorite of the French ; that the people of that nationality exhibited, more or less toward him, a feeling which was expressed by their countrymen in Canada.

However, there was no outcome to this state of affairs from the time the Judge arrived in 1839, until we come to an incident in connection with the name of Mr. Simpson, who had been on an Arctic expedition. This gentleman left the Red River settlement on the 6th June, 1840, for the purpose of crossing the prairies to St. Peter, on the Mississippi River, thence making his way to England. It was said that he was very anxious to reach his destination before the arrival of his companion in the Arctic exploration, who had gone by way of what is now known as the "Dawson route," with the same object in view. On starting from the settlement he was accompanied by a considerable number of settlers and half-breeds ; but, in his anxiety to reach England in advance of his companion, he pushed on ahead, with only a party of four men. When next found, on the afternoon of the 13th June, he was dead, and the dead bodies of two of his companions were found a short distance from him. The two others who had started with him returned with the report that the severe stretch to which his faculties had been subjected for several years, and his intense anxiety to hurry forward, had brought him to insanity, under the influence of which he shot down two of his

party, mentioned as his supposed enemies, and endeavored to shoot the two who had escaped, finishing the tragedy by shooting himself. This was the same Mr. Simpson who, as Mr. Gunn has related, five years before had chastised a French half-breed; and as his companions on this occasion were of this race, there were those who believed that their dislike to him might have possibly caused his death.

Since the time we have mentioned, when the French half-breeds came into conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company's authority, this class had frequently broken the law which related to the Company's rights. They had frequently crossed or re-crossed the boundary line, and while the law still remained in force as to exclusive trade, they had frequently broken its provisions, with, however, an effort at secrecy, which showed that they were desirous on the whole to pay some respect to the law which had been established over them.

A collision now came about in this way: A Canadian, by the name of Regis Laurent, had, it is alleged, been guilty of infringing upon the Company's chartered rights. His house was forcibly broken open, and the furs which it contained seized by the Company's officers. A similar act was committed on another Canadian, and a third seizure, as already recited, was made at Manitoba Lake, and the person in whose possession the furs were found was made prisoner, conveyed to the shores of Hudson's Bay and threatened to be taken to England, there to be punished for his crimes. These acts greatly enraged the whole Canadian population, and as that class were mixed with French half-breeds by marriage or other ties, the two parties united in the sentiment of ill-will against the rule of the Company. The English half-breeds, who were naturally more law-abiding, and less easily aggravated remained for a while staunch to the rule of the Company; but a collision came about by one of the class daring to aspire to the hand of the daughter of an officer, high in rank in the service of the Company. This man,

whose name was William Hallet, it may be stated here, was baulked in his attempt to obtain the hand of the lady in question, and treated with the greatest indignity on account of his nationality ; and being a skillful hunter and a frequent companion of the French half-breeds in their annual visits to the great buffalo-hunting plains of the west, joined them heart and soul in their efforts to obtain what they called fair play from the Company. He was followed gradually by a large number of the class; so that in a short time the whole Metis population, English and French, were imbued with a spirit of disaffection.

Between 1840 and 1844 there were several visits of the Sioux tribe of the great Dakotah Nation of Indians. They and the Salteaux Indians living in the neighborhood of the Red River settlement had been at war for a number of years. Collisions were often prevented by the intervention of the Metis, and at last the half-breeds themselves were drawn into the disputes, and from 1840 to 1844 the half-breeds had joined with their Salteaux friends in giving battle to the Sioux wherever a hostile meeting occurred.

A patched up peace was effected between the half-breeds and the Sioux in the fall of 1844, and the hunters returned to the plains, as usual, smoked the "pipe of peace," and passed the summer with the Sioux as if nothing had occurred between them. On the strength of this friendly intercourse and renewal of peace, a party of Sioux Indians arrived at the settlement, on a short and friendly visit to the whites, and after a brief stay reached their own country in safety.

A second party reached Fort Garry in the autumn of the same year, they, however, were not so fortunate. While the Sioux and the Salteaux were engaged in friendly conversation on one occasion, suddenly the report of a gun was heard, and instantly two Indians fell dead. The ball after killing a Sioux, also killed a Salteaux Indian, and very nearly killed a whiteman. Fearing this to be an outbreak

of the Salteaux, the Sioux were lodged safely inside the Fort, and the Salteaux immediately fled. The two bodies were taken in, and upon examination and enquiry, it was found that a Salteaux had fired the shot. The culprit was easily discovered, he did not attempt to escape, nor did he deny the charge. On being questioned, he cooly said "The Sioux killed my brother and wounded myself last year, and that moment I vowed revenge ; that revenge I am now taking, but I am satisfied ; let the whites now do with me as they like."

He was, of course, instantly committed to prison, and four days after he was tried in a regular way by a jury, found guilty, and sentenced to be hung. The gallows was erected over the prison gate, and he was executed on the fifth of September, 1845. This being the first case of executing the death sentence, it was thought an attempt at rescue might be made ; but the execution passed off quietly, and the punishment seemed in the eyes of the people to be but right.

The year 1846 witnessed the arrival of a very severe epidemic. The winter had been uncommonly mild, and early in the year influenza was very prevalent, and measles also broke out. Neither of these diseases were more than usually severe In due time, however, bloody flux appeared, and after its ravages among the Indians, spread with fearful rapidity among the whites From the 18th June, to the 2nd August, the deaths averaged seven per day ; the aggregate number of deaths being equal to one out of every sixteen of the population.

In September of this year, just as the settlement was recovering from this sad affliction, there arrived several companies of the Sixth Royal Regiment of foot. This force was five hundred (500) strong, including artillery and sappers, all under the command of Lieut.-Col Crofton. They remained, however, but a short time, being recalled in 1848. During their stay they gave a new impulse to everything,

and during their short residence in the colony they expended at least £15,000 sterling.

On the departure of the Sixth Royals, in the same autumn a squad of 70 pensioners arrived, and the year afterward were followed by a like number, who took the place of the Royals. These troops were commanded by a Major Caldwell, who was appointed by the Queen. This gentleman having to be dependent upon the kindness and good will of the Company for everything that could make life enjoyable at that time, seems to have taken no special care to ascertain the real feeling of the colony in regard to the Hudson's Bay Company. In fact, when information regarding their dealings with the people was repeatedly proffered to him, it was rejected, and the people soon saw that to get redress of their grievances, other than by force of arms, they must look to some other source than that of the gallant Major in command of his 140 pensioners.

Hope then turned to Mr. Isbester, of London. He was a native of the country, who, by his energy, ability and intelligence, had raised himself from the position of a successful scholar at one of the schools of the settlement to that of a graduate of one of the British Universities, and to a teacher of considerable rank. This gentleman had succeeded in inducing prominent members of the House of Commons in England to interest themselves in the subject of the appeals, which, through him, were constantly being made against the injustice and persecution which the colonists of the Red River settlement were suffering. We come now to speak of an incident which effectually broke the power of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly in the Red River settlement. It was the cumulation of the efforts of many years' remonstrance and petition to gain for themselves the right of trading with their Indian brethren.

In the spring of 1849 William Sayre, a French half-breed, had been arrested and imprisoned for trading furs. Three other Metis—McGinnis, Laronde and Goullette—had been

arrested on the same charge, but held to bail to stand their trial at the first criminal court. The charge against them, namely, their accepting furs from the Indians in exchange for goods, was considered as contrary to the rules of the Company's charter, wherein it is stated the Hudson's Bay Company shall have the sole trade and commerce of all the territories within Rupert's Land. For some time it had been rumored that the party to whom the culprits in question belonged were preparing to resist any attempt at the punishment of these men by an armed force, and on the 17th May, the day appointed to sit upon this celebrated case, the Metis were seen collecting in armed bands from all parts of the country This movement took place about half-past ten o'clock. Those in command of these armed parties simply stated the object of the gathering to be to resist the infliction of any punishment, whether fine or imprisonment, upon the offenders. They conducted themselves in the most orderly manner, merely surrounding the Court House, and by their presence showing their intentions. It is to be noticed that there was no attempt on their part to interfere with the trial, now about to be in progress; nor was there any attempt made to rescue the prisoners from the hands of the authorities. When the trial proceeded Sayre confessed that he had traded furs with the Indians. A verdict of "Guilty" was found against him, and thereupon Sayre proved that one of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company had given him permission to traffic; and on this pretext he was discharged. The cases of McGinnis, Laronde and Guillette were not proceeded with and they all left the court together, greeted by great applause.

It was perfectly patent to the half-breeds who were directly interested in the trial of this suit, as well as the white settlers, who looked with very considerable interest upon it, that the Hudson's Bay Company fearing to provoke a collision, which they knew must inevitably occur, had made use of a subterfuge to quietly get Sayre out of the

scrape, with at least the semblance of the dignity of the law; and so firmly were all convinced that at last this arbitrary injustice of right was forever broken that the cries of "*Vive la libertie*" and "Trade is free" were heard from all sides. Guns were discharged, hands were shaken, and three volleys given in testimony of the victory.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PEMBINA TREATY—THE GREAT FLOOD OF 1852—JUDICIAL—THE MAILS—ARRIVAL OF DR. SCHULTZ—A PRINTING PRESS—MR. DALLAS SUCCEEDS GOVERNOR SIMPSON—WILLIAM MACTAVISH BECOMES GOVERNOR, AND DIFFICULTIES FOLLOW—THE SIOUX MASSACRE—THE RIOT OVER THE CASE OF THE REV. MR. CORBETT.

In 1851, Governor Ramsey visited Pembina and concluded a treaty with the Indians for the purchase of a vast tract of land on the Upper Red River. This treaty excited considerable feeling in the Red River Settlement at the time. It was indeed a sad disappointment to the half-breeds who hoped to be recognized as the rightful owners of the disputed lands at Pembina, on account of their painful efforts to establish a settlement there.

The year 1852 witnessed a renewal of the terrible scenes of 1826, another flood covering and destroying a great part of the Red River Settlement. On the seventh of May, says Mr. Ross, in an appendix to his "Red River Settlement," the water had risen eight feet above the high-water mark of other years. The overflow soon spread ruin throughout the settlement, boats and canoes were in the most urgent demand with which to save life and property. The river had extended its breadth to about six miles and was rising at the rate of about one inch per hour. The settlers were now filled with the greatest consternation.

On the 12th of May, seven days after the flood had commenced, about half the colony was inundated, and great damage had been done to almost every description of property for a distance of over twenty miles up and down the river. To use Mr. Ross' description, "the crying of children,

lowing of cattle, squeaking of pigs, and howling of dogs, completed the strange and melancholy scene."

On the 22nd, the water reached its greatest height, being within eighteen inches as high as in the flood of 1826, previously described by Mr Gunn.

The flood of 1852 found more property within its reach on account of the settlement being larger. The scene was, no doubt, a sorry one, if we are to rely upon the accounts which living witnesses give us; dwelling-houses and barns were floating in all directions, with dogs, cats and poultry in them; out-houses, carts, carioles, boxes, cupboards, tables, chairs, feather beds, and every variety of household furniture drifting along, added to the universal wreck As in the earlier flood but one life was lost; a few horses, cattle and some pigs were neglected, and consequently drowned, in other respects the destruction was almost unlimited.

The flood was caused in this way:—On the breaking up of the river, the ice, according to Mr. Ross' account, choked in the channel, which caused the water to rise seven feet in the course of a few hours. This occurred in the night, and before the people were aware of it, they were floating in their beds. Hence the confusion was great, and much more loss was sustained than would have resulted had the first stages of the disaster occurred in the day time. The cause of the flood, as stated above, is disputed; some say there was no ice jam at all.

Mr. Ross goes on to say that "cattle and sheep were drowned before the people were aware of it, and two men who had gone to rest on a rick of hay, found themselves in the morning floating with the current some three miles from where they had laid down the night before. Others again, in the absence of canoes or other assistance, had to resort to the housetops; some took to the water and hung to the branches of trees and bushes till daylight brought them relief; and what may seem somewhat remarkable, in the midst of this scene of distress, some pigs were swept away—

one of which was known to swim for two days and two nights together without relief, and yet was caught alive. The cold as well as the water pressed so hard, that one man was reduced to the necessity of cutting up his plough for firewood to save his children from freezing. The spectacle was as novel as it was melancholy. Three thousand five hundred souls abandoned their all, and took to the open plains. The loss of property, besides that of the crop for the year, was estimated at £25,000 sterling. The people were huddled together in gipsy groups on every height or hillock that presented itself."

The Colonial Governor, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, as also the Rev. John Black, were untiring in their efforts to aid and comfort and cheer the heartless, homeless people; but it was not until the 12th of June that they could approach their desolate homes and commence the work of rebuilding or repairing, as the case required.

There is but little to record in 1852 except the distress consequent upon the flood, but before the end of that year the settlement had pretty thoroughly recovered from its effects.

In 1853 Mr. Thom was removed, by order of the Directors in England, from his position of Recorder and placed in the position of that of Clerk of the Court, with, however, the same pay and allowance which had been before given him. This arose, it is said, from the difficulties brought about in an action between an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company and one of the military, both of whom were resident in Fort Garry. This case, which was for defamation of character, involved such a number of prominent people in the colony, and so many complaints were made in regard to the action of the Recorder, that it led to the action mentioned.

In the spring of 1854 Mr. Thom resigned his situation as Clerk, and returned to Scotland, and Mr. Johnson, a Lower Canadian lawyer, succeeded him. Mr. Johnson continued his duties until the year 1858, when he returned to his

practice in Canada. He was succeeded by Dr. Bunn, the principal medical practitioner in the colony, who continued to act in that position until the spring of 1861, when he died suddenly of apoplexy. Governor MacTavish succeeded him until the appointment of President of the Court was given in 1862 by the Hudson's Bay Company to John Black, Esquire.

We may pause at this point to give the reader some statistics. First, as to the list of Governors from 1812 to 1855:—

Capt. Miles McDonell, from August, 1812, to June, 1815.
Alex. McDonell, from August, 1815, to June, 1822.
Capt. A. Bulger, from June, 1822, to June, 1823.
Robt. Pelly, from June, 1823, to June, 1825.
Donald McKenzie, from June, 1825, to June, 1833.
Alex. Christie, from June, 1833, to June, 1839.
Duncan Finlayson, from June, 1839, to June, 1844.
Alex. Christie, from June, 1844, to June, 1846.
Col. Crofton, 6th Reg., from June, 1846, to June, 1847.
Major Griffiths, 6th Reg., from June, 1847, to June, 1848.
Major Caldwell, from June, 1848, to June, 1855.

A census was taken in 1849, when the colony was found to contain 5,391 souls, divided as follows:—Men, married and widowers, 873; unmarried, 145; women, married and widows, 877; unmarried, 135; sons over 16 years of age, 382: under that age, 1,314; daughters over 15 years of age, 373; under that age, 1,292. There were in the colony 7 churches, 12 schools, 2 water and 18 wind-mills. There were 745 dwelling-houses, 1,066 stables and 335 barns. Of live stock there were 1,095 horses, 990 mares, 2,097 oxen, 155 bulls, 2,147 cows, 1,615 calves, 1,565 pigs and 3,096 sheep. Of farm implements there were 492 ploughs, 576 harrows, 1,918 carts, 428 canoes and 40 boats, and there were 6,329 acres of land under cultivation.

From 1855 until 1857 no military force was stationed in the settlement, but in the latter year a company of Royal Canadian Rifles arrived in the colony, remaining four years, and returning to Canada in the year 1861 by ship through Hudson's Bay.

In 1862 the American Government established a semi-monthly mail communication with Pembina, with which the settlement authorities also connected. Before this time mails had come by way of the head waters of the Mississippi, through the frontier town of Crow Wing, and had only been received once a month.

In 1857 the Legislature of Canada fitted out an exploratory expedition, under the command of S. J. Dawson and Henry Youle Hind. These gentlemen continued their operations during that and the two succeeding years, and in 1859 made a report to the Government. This report attracted very general attention, and was the means of inducing several Canadians to settle in the country. Among others who went there at that time was Dr. Schultz, then a student of Queen's College, Kingston.

That year also witnessed the arrival of two Canadians with a printing press—Mr. Wm. Buckingham and Mr. Wm. Caldwell. This advent of Canadians, though few in number, was looked upon with suspicion and dislike by the Hudson's Bay Company's authorities. Strong efforts were made to induce the people not to patronize the *Nor'-Wester*, which was the name given to the first newspaper. A short time afterwards Mr. Buckingham left the settlement, selling his interest in the *Nor'-Wester* to Mr. James Ross, who had been a distinguished scholar at the Red River College of St. John, and had afterwards passed a creditable examination at the University of Toronto. In 1864 Mr. Ross sold his interest in the newspaper to Dr. Schultz, who, in 1865, also bought the interest of Mr. Caldwell, and continued sole proprietor till 1868, when he sold it to Mr. Walter R. Bown. The effect of the advent of this newspaper was an important era in the history of the settlement. Sir George Simpson, until then Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs in North America, had died suddenly the year before, and Mr. Dallas, son-in-law of Governor Douglas, of British Columbia, succeeded him. This gentleman had been for many years a

merchant engaged in the China trade, but, while owning stock in the Hudson's Bay Company, had visited British Columbia and had married a daughter of Governor Douglas, of that colony, acquiring double interest in the colony in this way. He remained in British Columbia until appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company's Directors in England to succeed Sir George Simpson in the management of their affairs in America. This gentleman had not had the training of the ordinary Hudson's Bay Company's officer; his ideas were very much more broad, and he believed that the time had come when the monopoly of the Company in the fur trade must practically cease, and that they could only hope to continue to make large dividends by accommodating themselves to the altered condition of affairs, and competing with the incoming population with capital in the usual way. To this end he looked upon the publication of the newspaper in Fort Garry with pleasure, and had his administration continued it is thought that, possibly, the serious occurences of 1869 and 1870 might not have had to be recorded.

Jealousies, however, among the regularly trained fur-trade officers of the Hudson's Bay Company rendered his position untenable, and after a short time he retired to England, to be succeeded as Governor of Assinniboia by Wm. MacTavish, Esq., who was at that time Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company's station at Fort Garry. This gentleman, though possessing great ability as well as great kindness of disposition, was yet trained up from his youth, in the most remote districts of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the narrowest of their peculiar beliefs in regard to their position in the country, and in the carrying out of which he at once reversed the liberal policy of his predecessor. The newspaper was placed under a ban, and the advent of Canadians and the possibility of its continuance was looked upon as dark and foreboding.

Gold was discovered in the Saskatchewan Valley, near Fort Edmonton, by Timolean Love and James Clover, two

waifs from the stream of miners which had poured into British Columbia from San Francisco, and had found their way to the east side of the Rocky Mountains. The latter part of that year witnessed the inauguration of a Scientific society called the "Institute of Rupert's Land," of which Chief Factor MacTavish was President, and Dr. Schultz Secretary.

In the spring of 1862 a light draft steamer of considerable size, built on the upper waters of the Red River, arrived at Fort Garry, bringing with her nearly two hundred passengers, among whom were Governor Dallas and family and the Bishop of St. Boniface, as well as the new Recorder of the colony, John Black, Esquire. There also arrived in the country this year Lord Milton and Mr. Chiedel, whose travels to the west and experiences in the Rocky Mountains were described the subsequent year in a publication in London, entitled "The North-West Passage by Land."

In the fall of the same year occurred the outbreak of the Sioux Indians in the neighboring territory of Minnesota, which is known to this day as the "Sioux Massacre." It commenced at the town of New Ulm, on the Minnesota River, under the leadership of an active chief named Little Crow. This commencement was followed by a general rising of the whole tribe, and settlers to the number of 1,500 were murdered under the most cruel circumstances of barbaric warfare. The route to Red River through the States, which had been opened up by way of the head waters of the Mississippi, was immediately closed. One of the stage coaches was attacked by the Sioux and the passengers killed and scalped.

Fort Abercrombie, the military post of the United States on the upper waters of the Red River, was besieged and all communication between the Red River settlements and those of Minnesota was for months cut off, and the officers and crew of the Red River steamer remained at Pembina for weeks waiting to return to their Minnesota homes. The

first communication was established late in the fall by the arrival of Dr. Schultz and an American, who had skirted the Sioux territory, and by travelling at night and without building camp fires, after being once captured by the Chipeway Indians, reached Pembina in safety. The origin of the outbreak in question is no longer a matter of conjecture. Up to this time the Sioux Indians, one of the most powerful branches of the warlike Dakotah nation, had been at peace with the Americans, and doubtless would have continued so had it not been for the nefarious conduct of the agents appointed by the United States to manage their affairs. It is worthy of remark, and showing the foresight of the Sioux Indians, that, having been up to this time at war with the Metis of the Red River settlement, whenever the opposing parties met upon the buffalo hunting-grounds they concluded peace with their former antagonists, the Metis, before committing the first overt act in this warfare.

Early in December of this year, the Reverend Griffith Owen Corbett was arrested on a criminal charge, the gravity of which was a question on which the people of the settlement differed very much. Many believed that the animus of the charge was caused by the course which Mr. Corbett had pursued during the winter of 1856-57 in giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, which sat for the investigation of certain charges against the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land. On the first Saturday in December a number of men effected a forcible entrance into the prison in which Mr. Corbett was confined, stating as their reasons that bail had been refused to the gentleman on political grounds, and that there was no reason why Mr. Corbett, who, whatever his faults might have been, was always a kind friend to the poor, should be made an exception to the general practice. Mr. Corbett's imprisonment continued until it is said to have affected the sanity of the prisoner. Early in April an assemblage of his parishioners and others was held with a view to the forcible liberation

of the Reverend gentleman. This culminated in his release on the 20th April, 1863. Among those who were instrumental in his release were James Stewart, schoolmaster; William Hallet and John Burke, influential residents of his parish. Warrants for the apprehension of these three, with nine others, were issued next day, and a large force of special constables were sworn in; but before any action was taken, a body of thirty men on horseback, sympathizers with Mr. Corbett, appeared at the Fort and requested an interview with the Governor. This was granted, and they proceeded to demand the release of Stewart, the parochial schoolmaster, who had been imprisoned the day before for his complicity in the release of the Reverend Mr. Corbett. The party then proceeded without more ado to tear up the pickets which enclosed the prison-yard, and broke in the gaol and liberated their friend Stewart. No attempt was made to re-capture Corbett, and a few days after Stewart's liberation the Magistrates addressed a letter to the Governor, advising that in the present state of feeling in the colony no further proceedings should be taken against the rioters.

CHAPTER XIII.

EVENTS FROM 1863 TO 1868—THE INDIANS—RAVAGES OF THE GRASSHOPPERS—STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE COLONISTS AND THE OFFICERS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—THE "NOR'-WESTER"—AGITATION FOR UNION WITH CANADA—HON. DR. SCHULTZ'S CONFLICT WITH THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

Early in this year, 1863, rumors had been current as to the intention of the Sioux Indians, who had been concerned in the massacre in Minnesota, to pay the Red River settlement a visit. Late in May a band of eighty of them, under the leadership of the renowned Chief Little Crow, arrived, and had a conference with the Hudson's Bay Company's authorities. The Sioux spoke of their long friendship to the British flag, produced medals which had been given their forefathers in the time of George III., accompanied with a wish to be at peace with the British settlements forever. They then desired a present of food, and also ammunition. They were promised the first, but refused the latter on the ground that it would create ill-feeling in the United States. During their short stay these Indians were friendly with the Chippewa Indians in the settlement, and a number of friendly dances and feasts were interchanged. Shortly after this event there arrived at Fort Garry, with the intention of making a trip across the continent, the Chamberlain of the King of Sardinia, Count Castilione, who was accompanied by his Aide-de-Camp, Major De Vecchi, and two officers of the 22nd Regiment, then stationed in Canada. After a short stay they proceeded on their journey, and arrived in the fall of the year on the Pacific coast. Up to this time certain negotiations were pending between the resident officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in the country and the Board of

Directors in England. Certain important changes had been made in England without consulting these officers, who, in the peculiar system of this Company, were stockholders, or, at least, entitled to the profits of certain shares, as well as being the active overseers of the Company's affairs. They accused the Company in England of having in a body sold their shares to a new set of stockholders.

The stock of the Company, which had been watered so as to make it quadruple, instead of being held in comparatively few hands, and among those who understood and sympathized with the peculiar nature of the fur trade, had, as a great commercial corporation, been put upon the market as a great speculation; that a new body of Directors, among whom were only two members of the old Board, had been elected, and that the old Board had assented to the change, retiring without a word of kindly feeling or farewell to the officers of the fur trade. The International Financial Association were the agents for the transfer of stock in London, and a report was current that the Hudson's Bay Company had been extinguished, and had been succeeded as an inheritor of the monoply by the association we have mentioned. The gentlemen in England who effected this change apologized for their conduct by the assurance that so strong had become public feeling against the Company's monoply and its exercise of arbitrary, legal and other powers in the country, that a change was necessary as a nominal yielding to public opinion, and one of the principal objects of the Company would now purport to be the establishment of postal and telegraphic communication across the continent to British Columbia. The nominal nature of this intention being manifested evidently in seven years subsequent rule in the country by their never having erected a single telegraph pole, or established a single post.

Following Little Crow in his visits to the settlements came Little Six, a Chief and half-brother of the former, and of almost as much importance in his tribe. These Indians

remained in the neighborhood of Fort Garry peaceably hunting and trapping during the early part of the winter. But early in January of the following year, 1864, the American officers at Pembina connived with some Red River residents to kidnap Little Six and one of his followers. These Indians were enticed to the residence of A. G. Bannatyne, where they were given freely of whiskey mixed with laudanum, and, after being chloroformed to a state of insensibility, were bound on to dog-trains, conveyed to Pembina and delivered over to the American Commandant, Major Hatch. During the spring of this year the Sioux on the Missouri River, a body of between 4,000 and 5,000, sent a messenger to the Governor asking his advice in regard to their subsequent conduct towards the Americans. His advice was, of course, in favor of peace, and the Sioux who had sought refuge in the settlement, after living peaceably during the winter, although on the verge of starvation, left to join their western companions in the spring. Early in March, 1864, Mr. Ross, who had held the office of Sheriff and Postmaster, from which he had been dismissed because of advocating conflicting interests, sold out his interest in the *Nor'-Wester* newspaper to Dr. Schultz, who continued its management with Mr. Caldwell, one of the original proprietors. Early in the spring a series of disturbances occurred in the outlying settlement of Portage la Prairie. This settlement, a young and thriving one, had been commenced by the Venerable Archdeacon Cochrane, who, objecting to the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company in the District of Assinniboia, which was the name given to the settlements within a radius of fifty miles of Fort Garry, and, with a number of his parishioners, mostly English half-breeds, had gone to the rich and fertile country between the Assinniboine River and Manitoba Lake, and formed the settlement in question. They conducted their affairs in the simplest manner, the personal influence of the Venerable Archdeacon being sufficient in most cases to insure law and order. Early in May, 1864, Mr. Dallas, the

Governor, took his departure for England, after he had governed the country for two years. A month later another departure occurred which caused great regret in the settlement. This was Dr. Anderson, who had been Bishop of the Diocese for fifteen years.

The summer of 1864 was characterized by intense heat for days together, when the thermometer stood in the afternoon at 100° in the shade. Droughts prevailed until the middle of July, when rains for the first time fell. Closely following this arrived the grasshoppers, who instantly cleared away the rising crops, and, though vegetables such as tomatoes were left while any other esculents more palatable to the grasshopper taste remained, finally resulted in their making a clean sweep of everything.

Towards the fall the settlement was again visited by a large party of Sioux Indians, consisting of 350 lodges, or nearly 3,000 persons. They were divided into four bands, and had abandoned their hunting-grounds and lake fisheries and came hungry to the settlement to have a pow-wow with the English authorities. Governor MacTavish, who had succeeded Governor Dallas, went to the outlying settlement with a view to turning them back. Ultimately, the main body remained at Portage la Prairie, while the head Chief, Standing Buffalo, came to Fort Garry with a few of his men. They spoke of the friendship which had always existed among their nation towards the English, and bitterly regretted the kidnapping of their Chief during last winter. They went away after arranging to trade at some of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts in the interior, and after receiving a liberal present of provisions.

During the fall Mr. MacTavish's duties as Governor were undertaken by Mr. Black, the President of the Courts, in order to give Mr. MacTavish the opportunity of acting as the mouthpiece of the disaffected Chief Factors of the traders in endeavoring to make the Hudson's Bay Company Directors in England do them justice. During the summer one

of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels had been wrecked, and the captain and the crew came up from York Factory in dog-trains, and were sent on to the United States on their way to England. In the February following, 1865, a fire destroyed a part of the *Nor'-Wester* establishment, and a little later Mr. Caldwell sold out his interest to Dr. Schultz, who then re-established the paper, and conducted it on his sole responsibility.

The spring of this year developed the fact that the vast swarms of grasshoppers which had destroyed the crops of the previous year, had deposited their eggs, and the young grasshoppers were found to be as destructive as those of the year before; in fact more so, inasmuch as they remained longer in the country. In June of this year, Mr. Wm. McTavish, the Governor of Rupert's Land, who had spent the winter in England, endeavoring to compromise the differences between the Hudson's Bay Company's officers in the country and the stockholders at home, returned to Fort Garry unsuccessful in his mission. He left almost at once to attend the meeting of the Council of the Chief Factors and Traders, which was annually held at the Norway House. During the summer of this year, there arrived the Reverend Mr. Bompas, who travelled from St. Paul to the settlement with the Reverend Mr. Gardner and Dr. Schultz. This gentleman left at once for the scene of his labors within the Arctic Circle, where he remained until he was afterwards created Bishop of the Diocese. In the fall of this year occurred the death of the Venerable Archdeacon Cochrane, and also the arrival of the Right Reverend Robert Mackay, D.D., the new Bishop of Rupert's Land.

The harvest of this year, although the crops seemed utterly destroyed by grasshoppers in the spring, was better than had been anticipated. The fall buffalo hunt, however, turned out a complete failure.

In the spring of 1866 the Quarterly Court was the scene of considerable interest, as in February of this year an action

for £300 sterling was brought against Dr. Schultz for alleged indebtedness, but in consequence of the absence of the prosecutor the case was deferred. In May, however, the case was again entered, and Dr. Schultz having stated his belief that the Court had sympathized with his opponent from the fact of his being an officer in the Local Government Service, and that they had permitted themselves to be influenced, he was at once informed that he could not be heard personally at the bar of the Court, and as he refused to appoint an agent in his absence, judgment was given against him without trial. This judgment Dr. Schultz refused to comply with until granted a fair trial in open Court.

During this year another memorial was addressed to the Imperial Government signifying the wish of the inhabitants to be joined to Canada We have stated that up to this time the Council which governed the affairs of the Municipal District of Assinniboia was composed of parties in the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company, appointed by the English Directors, and while the Hudson's Bay Company authorities at Fort Garry had declared that the appointments in question were not made from political bias, yet it so happened that all the appointees were of their own political stripe.

In the spring of 1867, when Mr. Clair, of the Council of Assinniboia, died, a largely-signed petition was addressed to the Hudson's Bay Company authorities, requesting that Dr. Schultz should be added to the Council, with a view of an independent representation of the people's interest. So strong was the petition in question that it was felt by the authorities that this man must be got rid of in some way or other. No opportunity, however, occurred until a few months later, when, in January, 1868, the Sheriff, with a posse, proceeded to the trading post of Dr. Schultz to put into force the judgment which had been obtained against him in his absence; Dr. Schultz resisted the seizure of his goods, and in the scuffle which ensued the Sheriff and posse were ejected. After

accomplishing the saving of his property, the Doctor surrendered himself and demanded to be brought before the authorities. The authorities, believing him to be a dangerous subject, bound him securely with ropes and conveyed him in a cariole to a Hudson's Bay Justice of the Peace, before whom he was charged with having assaulted the Sheriff in the discharge of his duty. He admitted that he had defended his property in the absence of any legal method of protection to resist the judgment of the Court given against him without the intervention of a jury, and in which he had no opportunity to plead his case; and stated that he was willing to abide by the result of a new trial, if a new trial before a jury of the inhabitants was granted. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, finding their dangerous enemy in their power, forthwith consigned him to prison. This occurred early in the day, and before night the inhabitants of the neighborhood, to whom Dr. Schultz had been endeared by his steadfast advocacy of their rights and his intrepid conduct under oppression, immediately collected, and after an imprisonment of four hours he was released by them, after they had torn down the gaol walls and battered in the prison door. The large number who had collected for this purpose were thoroughly excited, and proposed to visit in a body the Hudson's Bay Company authorities, who, from the walls of their fort, had witnessed the breaking in of the gaol, which was only a few yards distant. The Doctor, however, calmed their feelings by proposing to go alone and unattended, to visit within the fort walls the Magistrate who had submitted him to such an ignominious procedure. This he did, and stated distinctly that he was still willing to undergo a trial on the charge brought against him, and to give bonds for the payment of the amount if judgment should be rendered against him. No attempt was made to recapture him or any of his friends on this occasion, but later, in the month of January, a General Council was held to consider the critical position of the

Hudson's Bay Company's rule in the country; a resolution was arrived at to embody a force of one hundred special constables, to be organized into a permanent force. Once raised, however, the authorities felt that public opinion was so strong against them in the Schultz matter that they refrained from using their newly acquired power, and, on the 10th of the following month, thought it better to accede to the Doctor's request and granted him a new trial. At this trial, which was conducted in the ordinary form of jury trials, he was allowed to plead his own case, and received, amidst the unanimous acclamations of the spectators, a verdict in his favor without one dissenting voice; it having been distinctly proven that the claim made of £300 against him was entirely without foundation.

During this year also the attempts at home-rule made by the disaffected population of Portage la Prairie culminated in an attempt to form an Independent Government.* The attempt was illegal and abortive, but still showed the strong wish of the people to escape from the Hudson's Bay Company's officers' rule. After having forwarded an Address to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, they received an official answer from Downing Street, dated 20th May, in which the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, cordially acknowledged the receipt of their communication, and informed them that they had no power in law to create or organize a government, or even

---

* Mr. Thomas Spence, in his evidence before the Select Committee of Parliament, in May, 1874, gave the following account of this, the first attempt to form an Independent Government in the North-West:

"I had organized a Provisional Government in 1867, over a part of the territory which was occupied by about four hundred people. I had communicated this organization to the Imperial Government, and upon hearing from the Imperial Authorities that our proceedings were illegal, the organization was broken up. The matter had nothing whatever to do with the outbreak or disturbance of 1869 or 1870. This organization was made simply as a matter of protection for ourselves, as we were outside the government of the Council of Assiniboia, as Governor MacTavish informed me himself."

to set up municipal institutions for themselves without reference to the Hudson's Bay Company or to the Crown; at the same time stating to them that Her Majesty's Government had no objection to the people of Manitoba voluntarily submitting themselves to rules and regulations which they might agree to observe for the better protection and improvement of the territory in which they lived, warning them, however, that the exercise of jurisdiction in criminal cases or to levy taxes compulsory would be wholly illegal. These events were, of course, much discussed in the colony, and public feeling satisfied itself for the present in an all but universal signature of a petition to the Governor in Council of Assinniboia, praying for an alteration in the system of government. This document stated that one of the principal causes of the Red River grievances was to be found in the fact that they had no voice in the conducting of affairs, and asserted that the Red River people were quite capable of selecting competent persons to assist in making the laws which governed them. It declared the belief that all men possessing common sense have a right to a voice in the Government under which they live, and, for these and many other reasons given, requested that the Council would at once adopt a measure allowing them at least the right to elect Councillors to fill vacancies which occured through death or resignation.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CROP OF 1868—FAMINE—RELIEF—UNION WITH CANADA—RESOLUTIONS OF HON. MR. MACDOUGALL—DEBATE ON ACQUIRING THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY—OPPOSITION TO THE ANNEXATION—THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

The crop of 1868 was entirely destroyed by grasshoppers, and the fall buffalo hunt proved a failure as well as the fall fisheries, so that starvation stared the colony in the face. Under these circumstances aid was solicited in England, Canada and the United States, and a committee, called the "Red River Co-operative Relief Committee," composed of the principal gentlemen of the colony, was formed. The appeal we have mentioned resulted in £3,000 coming from England, $3,600 from Canada and £900 from the States. Wheat and flour were transported on sleighs from Saint Paul, Minnesota, and death from starvation wholly averted by a pretty liberal supply of seed wheat procured for the inhabitants. As a means of aiding the starving colony, the Canadian Government had, late in the autumn, sent a party of engineers and surveyors to commence construction of the road between the Red River Settlement and the Lake of the Woods. Thus the employment of men and the means of transportation relieved the destitution very much, particularly among the French half-breeds, and although the Hudson's Bay Co. gave their *quasi* consent to this work being carried on by the Canadian Government, yet, with the exception of making statements to their prejudice, no overt act was committed by them. During the winter of 1868-69 very little occurred in the colony. Rumors of an approaching connection with Canada were discussed; the people feeling the generous sympathy of the Canadian Government

and people in their distress, anxiously wished a political connection. The Hudson's Bay Company's officers, however, and those in their interest, were universally against it. They wished to maintain the territory they had held for two centuries still as a great fur-trading reserve. The breach between the Hudson's Bay Company's officers and the Directors in England had widened, and mutterings were heard of the intention on the part of the fur trade officers of the country to arbitrarily cut their business connection and carry on the fur trade themselves, and this disaffection increased the objection which the parties interested had to a political connection with Canada.

But we must turn from scenes and incidents around Fort Garry to what was transpiring at Ottawa, in order to follow the chain of events which led to the union of this section of the country with the Confederated Provinces. For a number of years the question had been agitated in Canada as to the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to the territory which it claimed as its own exclusive property; and a counter-claim was set up by the old Province of Canada, that at least a very large portion of the country claimed by the Company should properly be included within the boundaries of the Province of Canada, for the reason that it was French territory at the time of the Conquest of Canada, and as such had been transferred to England, and afterwards formed part of the old Province of Quebec.

Into the merits of this claim it is unnecessary to enter here; suffice it to say that the matter attracted a great deal of attention in the Parliament of the Province, and that, in 1857, a Commission was appointed, of which Hon. J. E. Cauchon (now Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba) was Chairman, to examine into and report upon the claims of Canada to this territory. This Commission made out what seemed a pretty fair claim; but the Hudson's Bay Company at that time was too powerful in England, and the claims of the Province were held in abeyance. The question, however, continued

to be agitated; and when the terms of the British North America Act of 1867 were being settled, Article XI, sec. 146, provided that, "It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, etc, on Address from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, to admit Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, or either of them, into the Union on such terms and conditions in each case as are in the Address expressed, and as the Queen thinks fit to approve, subject to the provisions of this Act."

In accordance with the terms of this section, the Hon. W. Macdougall, then Minister of Public Works, at the first session of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, introduced, on the fourth day of December, 1867, a series of Resolutions on which an Address was to be based, praying that Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories should be united to the Dominion. *

---

* The Resolutions were as follows :—

1. That it would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people and conduce to the advantage of the whole Empire, if the Dominion of Canada, constituted under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, were extended westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

2. That colonization of the lands of the Saskatchewan, Assinniboine and Red River districts, and the development of the mineral wealth which abounds in the regions of the North-West, and the extension of commercial intercourse through the British possessions in America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are alike dependent upon the establishment of a stable Government for the maintenance of law and order in the North-West Territories.

3. That the welfare of the sparse and widely scattered population of British subjects of European origin, already inhabiting these remote and unorganized territories, would be materially enhanced by the formation therein of political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances will admit, to those which exist in the several Provinces of this Dominion.

4. That the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867, provides for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, or either of them, into union with Canada upon terms and conditions to be expressed in Addresses from the Houses of Parliament of this Dominion to Her Majesty, and which shall be approved of by the Queen in Council.

5. That it is accordingly expedient to address Her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of Her Most Honorable Privy Council, to unite Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory with the Dominion of

Hon. Mr Macdougall opened the debate on the Resolutions, which continued about one week, in an able speech, in which he spoke of the importance of embracing the vast and fertile region within the bounds of the New Dominion; of the impetus that would be given to immigration by opening up this new country to settlers, and pointed out the necessity of a stable form of government being established before any large amount of immigration could be attracted to the territory. In summing up he said: "The position is this—First, that it is desirable that this country should be transferred from Imperial to Canadian authority. Second, that the control of that country ought to be in the hands of this Parliament, and under the direction of this legislature. Then, if the Company make any claim to any portion of the soil occupied by our servants, they will come into the Courts to make good their claim, and they will have the right, if the decision is adverse to them, to appeal to the Privy Council."

The debate was participated in by over forty members of the House, very full and free explanations and expressions of opinions being made by both the supporters and opponents of the measure. The arguments in favor of acquiring the

---

Canada, and to grant to the Parliament of Canada authority to legislate for their future welfare and good government.

6. That in the event of the Imperial Government agreeing to transfer to Canada the jurisdiction and control over this region, it would be expedient to provide that the legal rights of any corporation, company or individual, within the same, will be respected: and that in case of difference of opinion as to the extent, nature or value of these rights, the same shall be submitted to judicial decision, or be determined by mutual agreement between the Government of Canada and the parties interested. Such agreement to have no effect or validity until first sanctioned by the Parliament of Canada.

7. That upon the transference of the territories in question to the Canadian Government, the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement, would be considered and settled in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the Crown in its dealings with the aborigines.

8. That a select committee be appointed to draft an humble Address to Her Majesty on the subject of the foregoing Resolutions.'

territory may be briefly summarized as follows:—The necessity for a more extended field for colonization, experience having shown that thousands of immigrants yearly passed through Canada on their way to the United States, many of whom could be induced to remain if the Government had any suitable lands to offer them free, as the United States had; the importance of acquiring the territory to prevent its being absorbed by the United States, which had just acquired Russian America, and showed a disposition to annex the Red River Territory; the immense advantage to the whole country of having its territory extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the moral obligation to provide for the settlers on the Red River a stable form of government, which they did not possess under the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was denied that the Resolutions implied any acknowledgment of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Minister of Public Works clearly explained the position of the Government on that point as follows: "In regard to the question of terms, the honorable gentleman had pretended that Government was prepared to recognize the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to demand a large sum of money from the people of this country. He denied there was such intention. From the beginning of the discussion down to the last hour, the Government of Canada had denied the legal claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to that portion of territory fit for settlement. They proposed to claim this country as being part of New France, as having been ceded to the English Government in 1760, and as having remained in that position from that time down to the present. As to Rupert's Land, that was an open point—they did not propose to settle that by these Resolutions—that would be left to the legal tribunals of Canada, and every British subject would have the right to appeal from these to the highest tribunals of the Mother Country."

But although there was much to say in favour of the measure, the Opposition found considerable to advance against

it. It was urged that the Dominion had already enough territory, and was not in a position,financially,to warrant the acquirement of a tract of country—a large part of which was utterly worthless—involving the expenditure of a sum of money variously estimated by the speakers at from five to twenty millions of dollars ; that the enlargement of the frontier of the Dominion by more than a thousand miles would be an increased source of weakness in the event of war, and would be apt to lead to complications with the United States, or to war between the Indians of the two countries ; that the establishment of courts, a police force and other necessary machinery of government would involve a much larger outlay than there was any prospect of receiving an adequate return for ; that the people of Red River country did not want annexation, and that it was highly impolitic to acquire a territory the only access to which at present was through the United States, and the expense of making a road to which on Canadian soil would be very great. With regard to the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, some of the opponents of the Resolutions held that the Company had forfeited what title it ever had under the charter of 1670, by never having complied with its terms with reference to colonization and civilizing the Indians, while others held that the charter never was valid, as it had been granted by Charles II without the consent of Parliament ; that the Company had therefore no claim, and were not entitled to anything. Mr. Howe pointed out that the capital of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was only £1,000,000 five years ago, had been inflated to twice that amount as soon as it was known that Canada wanted the territory, and the inflated sum of ten millions of dollars was what the Government would be expected to pay ; a sum altogether unreasonable, and more than the country could afford to pay.

On the motion to concur in the Resolutions as reported from the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Holton moved the following amendment : " That, acording to the provisions of

British North America Act, 1867, an Order in Council founded on an Address of the Canadian Parliament to the Queen, praying that Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory should be united to this Dominion on the terms and in such Address set forth, would have the full force and effect of an Imperial statute, and would bind this House to provide whatever sum of money might be required to extinguish the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company upon the said territory, and that to pledge irrevocably public funds to the payment of a large and indefinite sum for the extinction of vague and doubtful claims would be alike unwise on grounds of general policy and imprudent in view of the present financial position of the country: and that it is, therefore, inexpedient to adopt an Address under the 146th clause of the British North America Act of 1867 until the nature, extent and value of the claims with which the territories in question are burdened, shall be ascertained." After a short debate the amendment was put and lost on a division by a vote of 41 to 104. The Resolutions as introduced and amended by Mr. Macdougall were then adopted, and a select committee appointed to draw up an Address embodying them.

CHAPTER XV.

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT REQUIRES THAT TERMS SHOULD BE MADE WITH THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY BEFORE THE TRANSFER TAKES PLACE—THE TERMS FINALLY AGREED TO—ACT PASSED PROVIDING A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT—SURVEYS—HON. W. MACDOUGALL APPOINTED GOVERNOR—HON. JOE. HOWE'S VISIT TO THE TERRITORY—MR. MACDOUGALL WARNED NOT TO ENTER THE TERRITORY—THE SITUATION IN THE COLONY—MR. MACDOUGALL DRIVEN OUT OF THE TERRITORY.

The desire of the Dominion Government to have Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories transferred, in accordance with the provisions of the British North America Act, and after that to settle the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, was not to be so easily attained as had been hoped, nor was it to be attained at all on the terms at first proposed. The Hudson's Bay Company was not at all disposed to allow the transfer to be made until the Dominion Government had agreed as to the terms on which it was to relinquish its title, and had no intention of seeking redress in the Canadian Courts—with the right of appeal to the Privy Council—but preferred to have it all stipulated beforehand how much was to be paid, and how it was to be paid; and the Hudson's Bay Company, having more influence with the British Ministry than the Canadian Government, of course had its way, and eventually forced the Government of the Dominion to make terms.

On the fifteenth of May, 1868, Lord Monck sent down to the Dominion Parliament a despatch from the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which he acknowledges receipt of the despatch of 21st December, 1867, forwarding the Address, and states in effect

that Her Majesty's Government considered that the Hudson's Bay Company had a good title to *something*, and that that something and its value ought to be determined and ascertained before any change in the existing state of affairs took place. This despatch, so disappointing to the hopes of Canadians, was accompanied by letters from Sir Edmund Head—ex-Governor General of the old Province of Canada, and President of the Hudson's Bay Company—to the Colonial Secretary, in which he strongly urged the claims of the Company and that they should be fully acknowledged before any transfer was made to Canada, a view which the Colonial Secretary coincided in by stating in his despatch to Lord Monck that a Bill based on the propositions of the Hudson's Bay Company would be presented to the Imperial Parliament.

This despatch was received so late in the session that no action was taken on it; but later in the year Sir George E. Cartier and Hon. William Macdougall were appointed by an Order in Council a delegation to proceed to England to settle the terms for the acquisition by Canada of Rupert's Land, and to arrange for the admission of the North-West Territory, with or without Rupert's Land. These gentlemen sailed on the third of October, 1868, and on their arrival in England, immediately put themselves in communication with the Duke of Buckingham, who had already opened negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company with a view to transferring the territory. Some time was spent in negotiating; the Company, at first, demanding terms which the Commissioners could not entertain; but subsequently modifying their demands so that they could be agreed to. The original proposition of the Company was to the effect that the Company should relinquish its right of government, claim to the land, etc., but retain a royalty interest in the land and mines, as well as a certain reservation for hunting and some trading privileges. This proposition the Commissioners declined, maintaining that whatever arrangement was made must be conclusive, and that all right or title to the land must be

absolutely relinquished by the Company. While the negotiations were in progress the Government of Mr. D'Israeli was defeated, and Earl Granville became Secretary of State for the Colonies. This caused some delay, and it was not until 18th January, 1869, that negotiations were resumed, and were concluded, as far as the Commissioners were concerned, on the 9th March, and the terms afterwards agreed to by the Hudson's Bay Company. These terms were, substantially, that the Dominion Government should pay the Hudson's Bay Company £300,000 on the surrender of their rights to the Imperial Government, and that the Imperial Government should, within one month of such transfer, retransfer the same to Canada. The Company retained certain reservations of land in the vicinity of their forts and trading posts, which were under cultivation, and were to have two sections in each surveyed township, which amounts to about one-twentieth of the whole territory. In a pamphlet published in 1879, it is stated, "The Hudson's Bay Company owns about *seven millions of acres* in the great fertile belt," which shows that, after all, the Commissioners did not succeed in entirely removing the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company; but only varied it from a total monopoly of trade and territory to a partial monopoly of land. The Company relinquished all further title in the land, and all exclusive trading, fishing or other privileges, Government agreeing to respect the rights of the Indians and Half-breeds. The Imperial Government agreed to guarantee the loan of £300,000 necessary to pay the Hudson's Bay Company, and a Bill was passed to that effect, on condition of certain requirements being complied with by the Dominion Government. The preliminaries being apparently all amicably settled, there seemed to be nothing to do but to pay over the money and transfer the property—the date of such transfer being fixed for the first of October, 1869.

During the session of 1869, an Act was passed by the Dominion Parliament providing a Territorial Government

for the country to be acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company; and in the Supply Bill provision was made for the Government borrowing $1,460,000, under Imperial guarantee, to complete the purchase of the Territory from the Company, and also for an additional loan without guarantee, of such sums as might be needed for improvements in the Territory. These Acts were passed in anticipation of the actual transfer, so that the machinery of government might be ready when that event occurred. The Act provided for the temporary government of the country to be acquired, and which was to be known as "The North-West Territories," by a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General in Council, who, under direction of the Governor in Council, was to provide for the administration of justice, the peace, order and good government of Her Majesty's subjects and others. The Governor in Council was also authorized to appoint a Council of not less than seven and not more than fifteen members to assist the Lieutenant-Governor. All laws in force in the Territory at the time of the passage of the Act, not inconsistent with the British North America Act, or the terms of admission, were to remain in force until amended or repealed; and all public officers, except the Chief, were to continue in office until others were appointed.

The preliminaries being thus all arranged, the Dominion Government lost no time in preparing for the actual transfer, and wishing to take advantage of the summer for surveying the lines of the townships into which it proposed to divide the Red River Settlement, Colonel J. S. Dennis, D.L.S., was, on 10th July, 1869, directed by Hon. William Macdougall, Minister of Public Works, to repair to the Red River and prepare a plan for laying out said townships. Col. Dennis at once proceeded with his work, and, after consulting with the Crown Land Departments of Canada and the United States, submitted a report to Mr. Macdougall, in which he not only suggested a plan of survey, but intimated that it was possible that there would be objection on the part of the French Half-

breeds to any survey in their section of the country, until their claims had been investigated and definitely settled by the Dominion Government. Mr. Macdougall, however, seems not to have been impressed by Colonel Dennis' fears of trouble with the Half-breeds, and, on the twenty-second of September, submitted a memorandum to the Privy Council, recommending Col. Dennis' plan of surveys. The memorandum was approved in Council, and an order issued, on the fourth of October, to Col. Dennis to proceed with his surveys. Mr. Macdougall does not appear to have considered seriously the probability of trouble referred to by Colonel Dennis, and did not submit his letters on the subject to the Council with any recommendation.

Owing to a difficulty with the Home Government with regard to the paying over of the £300,000 agreed on to the Hudson's Bay Company, the date of the transfer of the territory was postponed from the first of October to the first of December; but the Dominion Government still proceeded with its preparations for taking possession, and, on the twenty-eighth of September, an Order in Council was passed appointing the Honorable William Macdougall Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, at a salary of $7,000 per annum. The Commission which was subsequently issued to Mr. Macdougall was to take effect after the transfer of the Territory, and the other Commissions for taking oaths, etc., were issued in the same manner. Mr. Macdougall was directed to proceed to Fort Garry with as little delay as possible, and on his arrival placed himself in communication with Mr. MacTavish, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, as set forth in the preliminary instructions addressed to him from the office of the Secretary of State for the Provinces. By perusing these instructions it will be seen that the Canadian Government desired to deal fairly and justly by all classes, respect all rights, and gradually, to prepare the way for introducing the judicial, educational and other systems adopted in the older Provinces; but, unfortunately, the in-

habitants of the settlement were not made fully aware of the intentions of the Government, and, the French portion especially, viewed with alarm and distrust the appointment of a new style of government in the selection and composition of which they had not been in any way consulted. They had no confidence in the Canadian Government, and would much have preferred to be left as they were, or, if they had any desire for change, the inclination certainly lay more in the way of annexation to the United States, on which they so closely bordered, than to Canada which was so far away and could —at that time—only be reached through American Territory. The Canadians also, while satisfied with Territorial Government for the present, desired responsible government as soon as possible, such as they had been accustomed to in Ontario; while a few Americans were entirely opposed to a union with Canada, and advocated an annexation to the United States. Added to this, the resident officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were very lukewarm in their support of the proposed transfer, and while not openly disaffected, were certainly indifferent as to the success of the undertaking. They felt that their joint and individual interests had not been provided for by the Directors of the Company in London, who cared very little for anything except getting as much money as possible out of Canada, and they took no trouble to explain to the people the intentions of the Dominion Government after the transfer was completed. To understand their feelings in the matter it is necessary to explain that the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs in the North-West were managed by superior officers known as Chief Factors and Chief Traders, who had a certain share of the profits of the Company in lieu of salary; and that from various causes, such as increased competition, bad management after the death of Sir Geo. Simpson, and low prices, these profits had been reduced to a mere nominal amount. To the dissatisfaction consequent upon this was added a rumour that in the negotiations pending, the stockholders in England did not

propose to recognise their right in any division of profit made by the Company, except that accruing to the fur trade, and consequently in the division of any monies received from Canada, proposed to ignore them entirely. These inland officers, as they were called, felt this to be a great act of injustice, and sent delegates home to remonstrate with the Directors. Their remonstrances were however unheeded, and the officers in question felt that not only were they to be excluded from participation in any portion of their purchase money, but the sale itself, by opening up the country for settlement, removing its isolation, and leaving it open for the free exercise of Canadian energy and capital in the fur trade, was certain to bring to an end the practical monopoly they had so long enjoyed, and to end entirely their hope of getting any share of the profits which had hitherto served them in lieu of salary,—causes of this kind led to the action which they took in encouraging the party of resistance. It will thus be seen that Mr. Macdougall had a very difficult and delicate task to perform in trying to unite these conflicting interests, and satisfy all parties, and his task was not rendered more easy by—to use the mildest phrase—the injudicious conduct of some of his subordinates, and his own misconception of the depth and extent to which the dissatisfaction had spread.

The Hon. Mr. Macdougall started for his new post early in October, but did not reach Pembina until the thirtieth of that month. He was accompanied by his family and several gentlemen who expected to become members of the new Council, among whom were Messrs. A. N. Richards (Attorney-General), J. A. N. Provencher (Territorial Secretary) and Captain Cameron. Mr. Macdougall also took with him three hundred rifles and plenty of ammunition, the Government being apparently impressed with the idea that the slightest show of force would be sufficient to check any discontent or prevent any trouble. In this, however, they showed the same want of wisdom displayed throughout the whole

negotiations for the transfer, and instead of Mr. Macdougall's three hundred rifles frightening the French Half-breeds, they only made them more determined not to permit the Canadians to enter Assiniboia and set up a new government until they (the Half-breeds) had been consulted in the matter and guarantees given them that their rights would be respected. Previous to the arrival of Mr. Macdougall, a visit had been paid to the newly acquired Territory by the Hon. Joseph Howe, who was then President of the Council, and was shortly after to assume the portfolio of Secretary of State for the Provinces. Mr. Howe did not anticipate any outbreak at the time of his visit, and urged upon the parties whom he saw, the fact that the Territorial Government was to be only temporary, and that a government similar to that of the other Provinces would be established as soon as possible. Mr. Howe has been freely charged with encouraging resistance to Dominion authority during his visit, which lasted from 9th October to about 18th; but this he most emphatically denied, and there is no evidence to show that he said or did anything which could be construed into encouragement of opposition to the peaceful transfer of the Territory to the Dominion. Still, Mr. Howe's mission was an unfortunate one, and may be considered as another blunder on the part of the Administration, for he had been himself so nearly on the verge of actual rebellion in Nova Scotia, and had succeeded so well in forcing "Better Terms" for that Province from the Dominion Government, that any chance expressions of his with regard to the people of the North-West obtaining "their rights," would be construed as meaning more than was intended to be conveyed.

Rumours of hostile movement on the part of the French Half-breeds reached Mr. Macdougall at several points on his way from St. Paul to Pembina, but he paid little attention to them until his arrival at the latter place, where he was met by a Half-breed, who had been waiting some days for his arrival, and served with a formal notice not to enter the

Territory. Disregarding this warning, Mr. Macdougall pushed on to the Hudson's Bay Company's post, about two miles from Pembina, and within the Territory of the North-West, from whence he sent a despatch to the Secretary of State, enclosing reports from Colonel J. S. Dennis and others on the condition of the country. Those reports stated that on the 11th October, a surveying party, under Mr. Webb, who were engaged in surveying the base line between Townships 6 and 7, had been stopped in their work by about twenty French Half-breeds, headed by a man named Louis Riel. No violence was used, Riel and some of his followers simply stepping on the chain, and ordering Mr. Webb and his party to desist, the leader claiming that the property being surveyed belonged to French Half-breeds, and that they would not allow it to be surveyed by the Canadian Government ; the surveyors being also notified that they must leave the south side of the Aissiniboine. No arms were seen on any of the party, and only threats were used, but Mr. Webb thought it most prudent to retire as he was ordered. Colonel Dennis applied to the Hudson's Bay authorities and Governor MacTavish and Dr. Cowan had interviews with Riel, and pointed out the impropriety of his conduct, but without avail, his only answer being that the Canadian Government had no right to proceed with the surveys without the consent of the Half-breeds. The influence of the Church was then invoked, and an appeal made to the Father Superior Lestanc, who was in charge of the Diocese during the absence of Bishop Taché, then on his way to Rome to attend the Œcumenical Council. The priest declined to interfere, stating that he was afraid of lessening the influence of the Church over the people.

The reports also stated that on the 20th a meeting of disaffected French Half-breeds was held at the house of one John Bruce, at which it was determined to resist the entrance of Mr. Macdougall into the Territory by force if necessary ; and on the 23nd an affidavit was made before Dr. Cowan by

Walton Hyman, of St. Norbert, that an armed party of about forty French Half-breeds had assembled at the crossing of the River Sale on the road between Fort Garry and Pembina, with the avowed intention of turning Mr. Macdougall back if he attempted to proceed to Fort Garry; and that another party of twenty men, under Louis Riel, was nearer the border at Scratching River, for the same purpose. The reports of Colonel Dennis went on to show that while the English-speaking portion of the community was not opposed to the entrance of the Governor, it was not enthusiastic, and was not disposed to take up arms against the French Half-breeds. Colonel Dennis says: "The attitude of the English-speaking portion of the Colony may, I think, be fairly stated as follows: They say: We feel a disposition to extend a sincere welcome to the Hon. Mr. Macdougall as a gentleman who has been selected for our future Governor. We regret exceedingly that the good name of the Colony should be prejudiced by any such action as that we are told is contemplated by the French Half-breeds. We consider it a most outrageous proceeding on their part and one that we would be glad to see, if possible, put a stop to. At the same time, should an appeal to arms be necessary, we could hardly justify ourselves in engaging in a conflict, which would be, in our opinion, certain to resolve itself into one of nationalities and religions, and of which we could hardly, at present, see the termination. We feel this way: We feel confidence in the future administration of the Government of this country under Canadian rule; at the same time we have not been consulted in any way as a people, in entering into the Dominion. The character of the new Government has been settled in Canada without our being consulted. We are prepared to accept it respectfully, to obey the laws, and to become good subjects; but when you present to us the issue of a conflict with the French party, with whom we have hitherto lived in friendship, backed up, as they would be, by the Roman Catholic Church, which appears probable by the course at present being taken

by the priests, in which conflict it is almost certain the aid of the Indians would be invoked, and perhaps obtained by that party, we feel disinclined to enter upon it, and think that the Dominion should assume the responsibility of establishing amongst us what it, and it alone, has decided on. At the same time, we are ready—should the Council make an appeal to the Settlement to prevent the gross outrage contemplated—by a large mounted deputation, unarmed, to meet and escort the Honorable William Macdougall to Winnipeg, and thus show to the French party, now in arms, that the English-speaking portion of the colony is entirely opposed to the present threatening movement by a portion of the French Half-breeds,—we will cheerfully and promptly respond to the call."

This being the condition of affairs in the Colony, Mr Macdougall determined to remain at the Hudson's Bay post for a few days until he could communicate with Governor MacTavish ; and, accordingly, sent Mr. Provencher forward with a message to the Governor, and instructions to confer with the leaders of the Half-breeds, ascertain what they demanded, and assure them of the intention of the Government to deal fairly and justly by all parties. On the first of November Colonel Dennis and Mr. W. Hallett reached the Hudson's Bay post from Fort Garry, having made a detour across the prairie to avoid the French stationed at Scratching River, and reported that the French were still very much excited and opposed to the entrance of Mr. Macdougall, and that the Governor and Council of Assiniboia seemed disinclined, or powerless to take any steps to secure that gentleman's entrance into Fort Garry. Mr. Provencher was sent back from the barricade under an escort and warned that none of his party would be allowed to proceed to Red River. On the second, a party of fourteen men approached the post and ordered Mr. Macdougall to leave, and on the following morning they became so threatening in their demonstrations that he thought it most prudent to retire to United States

territory. We cannot do better than give Mr. Macdougall's own account of this proceeding, taken from his report to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, dated 5th November: "The next day (Tuesday) about five o'clock in the afternoon, fourteen horsemen were seen approaching as from the direction of Fort Garry, It was soon evident that they were armed, and moving rapidly forward. As they approached, they slackened their pace and dismounted at the gate of the stockade which surrounds the post, with their guns cocked and in military order. In a few minutes two of their number demanded an interview with me. They left their arms with their comrades at the gate, and were at once admitted. I invited them to a seat, and asked them what they wished to say to me. They replied that they had been sent to tell me that I must leave the North-West Territory—I must go back before nine o'clock to-morrow morning. I asked them who had sent them with this message? They said, 'The Committee—the Government.' I asked, what Government? They said, 'The Government we have made.' I asked what they were instructed to do if I declined to go back? They said, 'They did not know, they had no order.' I told them I was sent to assume the government of the country under the Queen of England, and by her authority, and I could not obey the orders of their Committee. I, at the same time, produced my Commission under the Great Seal, and handed it to the Captain for his perusal. He evidently could not read it, but the parchment and the seal seemed to convince him that it was what I described it to be. He handed it back, saying that if his leaders had seen that he thought they would not have opposed me—they did not wish to take up arms against the Queen. He added that I ought to have come on as far as the barricade, which I might have done without molestation. I told him, in reply, that I was going on as fast as I could when I was stopped by a written order from his Committee, which I handed him to read. He read it, and he remarked that he was not present when it was

written, but admitted that it came from the National Committee, whose orders he obeyed. His companion having left the room, he seemed impatient to end the conversation, and rose to retire. I had asked their names, which they gave without hesitation as Lepine and Lavallée. They were very respectful in their bearing, and seemed ashamed of the business they had in hand. I sent out to ask them if they would eat, which they said they would be glad to do, and I accordingly ordered some pork and bread and tea to be given to them. Hearing of their remarks to one another that if they had known I was coming to represent the Queen as well as the Government of Canada, and that I was not sent to interfere with their religious or private rights, they would not have joined the insurgent party, and having observed the effect of the Great Seal upon the Captain of the band, I resolved to send for the whole party, and explain my position and authority to them in the same manner as I had done to the two leaders. They replied to my invitation, that they were tired, and that some of their party had gone to the village and could not see me until the morning. About six o'clock the same evening Mr. Provencher and Captain Cameron made their appearance at the post, escorted by six horsemen, who had conducted them all the way from River Sale. These gentlemen had not been allowed to go beyond the barricade, or to hold any communication with the authorities at Fort Garry. Mr. Provencher's report of his mission and its result is enclosed herewith. About eight o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the third instant, loud talking was heard at the gateway, and on going out I found the rebel party, with their arms in their hands, drawn up in a half circle, gesticulating fiercely, and threatening that, if we were not off by nine o'clock, they would not answer for our lives. I found that they had made a prisoner of Mr. Hallett, who went out to repeat my invitation of the evening before, and that he was then tied to a cart, and not allowed to speak to any of my party. Seeing their temper, and think-

ing it would not be prudent to give them an excuse for any further outrage, I ordered the horses to be harnessed, and we drove away from the Hudson's Bay Company's post towards Pembina, escorted by a party on foot. When I had reached the post which had been set up to mark the 49th parallel, the Captain of the band stopped and addressing me in French, said, 'You must not return beyond this line,' pointing to the boundary monument. He further remarked that he did not know me as Governor, but only as Mr. Macdougall. As three or four persons had joined us on the way, but had no other connection with us, I asked if they also were interdicted from going on. He shrugged his shoulders, and said he did not know ; he would not prevent them, but perhaps they would be stopped at the River Sale. I then drove on, and my escort returned to the Hudson's Bay Company's post."

CHAPTER XVI.

OPPOSITION IN THE COLONY TO A UNION WITH CANADA—BISHOP TACHÉ'S OBJECTIONS—THE FIRST STEAMER ON RED RIVER—THE MEETING AT RIVER SALE—APATHY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S OFFICERS—STOPPAGE OF THE MAILS—OCCUPATION OF FORT GARRY—THE INSURRECTION ASSUMES FORMIDABLE PROPORTIONS—RIEL SUMMONS A CONVENTION—MR. MACTAVISH ISSUES A PROCLAMATION—MEETING OF THE CONVENTION—PASSAGE OF A "BILL OF RIGHTS."

While the negotiations for the transfer of the Territory were progressing, the subject naturally attracted a good deal of attention in the Colony, and by no means met with general approval; the objections coming chiefly from the French Half-breeds, led by the Catholic Priests, and, at a later period, from the resident officers and employés of the Hudson's Bay Company. The priests seemed to dread innovation, and feared that any change from the existing condition of things would weaken their influence, and injure the good work they were doing.

In 1868 Bishop (now Archbishop) Taché published a very interesting little book entitled "A Sketch of the North-West of America," one of the main purposes of which appeared to be to show that the country was not nearly so fertile as it had been represented; that the winters were very long and cold, and the summers very short and hot, and that it was not an attractive place for settlers. The worthy Bishop evidently thought that the Red River Settlement was well enough as it was, and did not advocate any change. After giving a brief sketch of the Colony, and alluding to the proposed annexation of Rupert's Land to the Dominion, he says: "Offspring of Rupert's Land, it will follow its mother

and be ruled by the influences which affect her. Yet, although not quite free, the child has acquired certain rights; it posseses or occupies lands for which it has not always paid; it has cultivated them with its labor. True—the labor has not always been great; but we speak of a child of the desert. It commands indulgence; it presumes to hope that here the foreigner shall not be preferred; that in the great and wise plans matured by the Mother Country and Canada, its eldest brother, its past history may not be entirely disregarded. In the Colony itself there is nervousness and uneasiness about the future. Some who hope to gain by any change, are clamorous for one; others dwelling more upon the system of government than upon its application, would like to try a change, certain that they would never return to the primitive state from which they desired to escape; a greater number—the majority—dread that change. Many are very reasonable; the country might gain by the change, and it would certainly obtain many advantages which it now lacks; but the existing population would certainly be losers. As we love the people more than the land in which they live, as we prefer the well-being of the former to the splendor of the latter, we now repeat that, for our population we very much dread some of the promised changes."

The worthy Bishop had needless fears, for the "splendor" of this great country will not destroy but build up both his Church and his people by whom he is rightfully beloved. From his standpoint, at that time, it was only natural to write as he did; and our reference to the matter to-day is in no spirit of ill-feeling. If the Bishop undervalued the fertility and habitability of this great country, it is no more than other good men have done before and since. In his case it is to be regretted, not censured. We might observe, however, that the fears of the Bishop of St. Boniface were very similar to those entertained by the French Canadians in Quebec. They dreaded English immigration, from the fear that it

would sweep away their peculiar institutions, supplant their language and interfere with their religion. This has always been the fear of French Catholics, and the experience of nearly a century and a quarter in Quebec has failed to entirely satisfy them that the English have no designs on either their language or religion, other than that which the regular course of events must produce. The French language is to a great extent falling into disuse in Winnipeg and other centres of Manitoba, and will probably continue to do so as trade and commerce increase; for almost the entire bulk of the immigrants settling in this country is English speaking, and, of course, the English language is gradually superseding the French in business circles. As to the Catholic religion it is as freely enjoyed as it ever was under Hudson's Bay Company rule, and better protected.

The objection on the part of the French Half-breeds of Red River, in the first instance, to the transfer of the territory to Canada was confined to this dread of change, and the Archbishop—who speaks for the whole French element—frankly confesses that he is quite content with things as they are and does not desire any alteration, although he admits that it might be to the advantage of the country. So fearful, indeed, is he of innovations that he is almost comically earnest in his endeavors to persuade outsiders that the Red River Territory is a good place for them to keep out of; and even so important an event as the appearance of a steamer on the river is regarded distrustfully by him, and after sketching the fortunes of the first steamer, the *Anson Northup*, which arrived from St. Peters in June, 1859, and her successor, the *International*, launched at Georgetown in 1862, up to the season of 1868, seems rather pleased than otherwise that up to that time the undertaking had not been successful, and concludes his account as follows: "Such has been the experience of eight years; the steamer (*International*) could not ply during half the time, and during the other half she was a complete failure. The result has slightly

disappointed bright hopes and money making schemes. Now, the idea of a steamer on Red River does not cause the enthusiasm which it excited at first. Wealthy people and merchants, taught by experience and disappointment, fear uncertainty. Poor people are decidedly against steam navigation for the following three reasons: 1st. The Red River abounds in fish and supports a great number of the necessitous. It is well known that steamboats are not skilful in the art of pisciculture. 2nd. Wood is very scarce on the banks of Red River, yet it is very much wanted there, and the *fire canoes* make war against the fuel on the banks, as against the food swimming in the water. 3rd. Land carriage from the United States hither, is an abundant source of profit to the land owners of the colony, who thus employ their horses and oxen; but the running of the steamer deprives them of this advantage, and all the money paid for cartage from St. Cloud to Georgetown goes into American pockets." Such objections sound puerile enough in our ears, but they are gravely urged by the Archbishop, in his conservative desire to have things remain as they were, as reasons why "Poor people are decidedly against steam navigation."

It will thus be seen that a strong feeling was growing up amongst the French against the change; nor can the feeling amongst the English be said to have been very strongly in favor of it, as it was proposed to be made. They wanted to escape from under the incubus of the Hudson's Bay Company; but they (especially those who had emigrated from Ontario) wanted to have a voice in the management of their own affairs, and they were greatly disappointed when they found that the Canadian Government proposed sending up a Government "all ready made" to take the place of the Hudson's Bay Company. They felt as if they were getting from under one dead weight to place themselves under another, and they were not very enthusiastic about the change.

The feeling of the French Half-breeds may be briefly ex-

pressed as this—that they questioned the right of the Dominion Government to take possession of what they considered their country, without their consent The first exhibition of this feeling was shown in the stoppage of the surveyors, Snow and Webb, already referred to. Shortly after Mr. Howe's visit, the opposition grew stronger, and a meeting of French Half-breeds was held in the vicinity of River Sale, and a "Council" formed, of which a French Half-breed, of Scotch descent, named John Bruce, was President, and Louis Riel Secretary. The avowed object of the Council was to prevent the entry of Mr. Macdougall and his followers until "Terms" had been made; and for this purpose the barricade was thrown across the Pembina road and guarded, at first by a force of about a dozen men, which was increased in the course of a fortnight to about one hundred. After the arrival of Mr. Macdougall, and his repulse at the frontier, the Council held daily meetings, and their purpose began to take more definite shape. As they were only about nine miles from Fort Garry, these proceedings were well known, and gave much alarm to the Canadian residents there and in its vicinity, who were amazed at the utter apathy shown by the Hudson's Bay authorities; and one Walton Hyman, a tanner, whose tannery was only a short distance from this barricade, made an affidavit on the 22nd October, 1869, before Dr. Cowan, stating the facts that had come to his knowledge, in the hope that this information would arouse Governor MacTavish to the gravity of the situation, and induce him to take some action to prevent any opposition to the entrance of Governor Macdougall.

Although this information was positive and circumstantial enough—even supposing, which would be supposing a great deal, that the authorities had no previous knowledge of what was going on so near the Fort—still Governor MacTavish and his Council remained inactive, and allowed the insurgents to perfect their schemes without interruption Nor can the plea of want of power to put down the rising at this time be

urged, for Riel had less than one hundred men, poorly armed, while the authorities had, in addition to the ordinary constabulary of the country, numbering about forty men, thirty or forty pensioners of the Royal Canadian Rifles, liable to do special service, and a force of 300 special constables sworn in a short time before. The only things apparently wanting to enable this incipient rebellion to be nipped in the bud were, a display of superior force and a *desire* to do so, but these Governor MacTavish and his advisers never showed until the rebellion had gained such headway that it was beyond his power to control it without appealing to arms, a course which would, in all probability, have led to much bloodshed and serious loss of life. This doubtful neutrality has laid the resident officers of the Hudson's Bay Company open to the very grave suspicion that they secretly encouraged the insurgents in their unlawful acts, in the hope that an armed opposition to the acquirement of the territory by Canada would lead either to an abandonment of the scheme, or to an offer of "Better terms," in which some provision would be made for them for what they would lose by the transfer of the country. To say that Governor MacTavish and his advisers openly encouraged the insurgents is perhaps going a little too far, but that they did receive great encouragement from their inactivity is simply stating a fact. This inactivity seems all the more inexcusable and inexplicable when it is remembered that when the Governor returned from England in the summer, after an unsuccessful attempt to induce the Directors in London to allow the resident officers a share in the £300,000 paid by the Canadian Government, he passed through Ottawa and had several interviews with Ministers, who asked him if he was in a position to transfer the territory *peacefully*, as stipulated in the contract, offering to send up 300 of the Canadian Rifles, then available, if he anticipated any trouble. To this the Governor replied most positively that he was quite able to carry out the terms of the contract without assistance, and

yet when fifty determined men could have prevented any trouble, and he had about five hundred at his command, we find him unable to do anything but advise Hon. Mr. Macdougall to remain at Pembina, and make himself and the Government he represented look ridiculous.

About this time the mails, which had to pass over the Pembina Road, were stopped and examined, and all letters giving any true account of the condition the country was in were suppressed, while all letters intended for parties in the Settlement suspected of being favorable to Canada were also stopped. This was mostly done at Rivière Sale by the insurgents, but it was also suspected that letters were opened and examined in the Post Office at Pembina, of which a strong annexationist and great friend of the insurgents was Postmaster. On account of this tampering with the mails great inconvenience was experienced in obtaining anything like correct information as to what was occurring in the Settlement, and Hon. Mr. Macdougall was forced to resort to all sorts of expedients, and employ only the most trustworthy persons he could find, to get any letters from himself to Governor MacTavish, or any other person, taken into Fort Garry, while even greater difficulty was experienced in getting any information conveyed to Hon. Mr. Macdougall.

About the same time that Hon. Mr. Macdougall was driven back to Pembina by Riel and his followers, it began to be rumoured that the insurgents intended to take possession of the Fort, and the authorities were duly informed of the fact in ample time to have made preparations for its defence, had they felt so disposed, but they paid no attention to the warning. Sergeant James Mulligan, at that time Chief of Police at Fort Garry, states, in an affidavit taken subsequently, that he "urged upon Dr. Cowan, the Chief Factor in charge of Fort Garry, the danger in which the Fort stood, from the intention of the insurgents to seize it, ; and requested him to call upon a portion of the 300 special constables and the pensioners to defend it." Fort Garry was a strong

stone fort, bastioned and defended by thirteen six-pounder guns, was amply supplied with ammunition and provisions, and had in it also 390 Enfield rifles, so that if Governor MacTavish had only closed the gates, he could, at least, have held the place against any force that the insurgents could possibly have brought against him, if he was afraid to do more; but even this he failed to do, although he and Dr. Cowan were warned by other parties than Mulligan that the place would be taken possession of. Not the slightest precaution was taken, the gates were not closed, cannon not in position, and yet the Governor and Chief Factor knew that a body of men had been in possession of the Pembina Road for ten days, and had threatened to occupy the Fort! On the afternoon of the second of November, Riel, with about 100 men, came down the road from Rivière Sale, entered the open gates, and immediately proceeded to billet themselves in the various houses within. Dr. Cowan, the officer in charge of the fort saying, "What do you want here with all these armed men?" Riel replied, "We have come to guard the Fort" "Against whom?" asked Dr. Cowan. "Against a danger," Riel answered. This was all the explanation given and seemed to satisfy the Chief Factor; and Riel and his followers were left in undisturbed possession.

The force being housed, next fed, and proceeded to arm themselves with Enfield rifles in place of their own shot guns, closed the gates, set a guard, placed the cannon in position, and for the first time since its inception the rebellion became formidable. The insurgents had now possession of nearly all the cannon in the settlement; were abundantly supplied with small arms and ammunition; had all the provisions and other stores of the Hudson's Bay Company, more than enough to last them all the winter, and it became evident that if they pleased to hold possession of the Fort until spring they could do so, for there was no force in the settlement able to dislodge them, and it would be summer, or perhaps later, before any force could arrive from Canada.

In short, the insurgents were now "masters of the situation," and held the position which ought to have been occupied by the loyal party, and which they would have occupied but for the supineness—to use no harsher term—of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. Governor MacTavish's explanation of the capture of Fort Garry, as conveyed to the Hon. Mr. Macdougall in a letter dated 9th November, is certainly a remarkable production when we consider that the Hudson's Bay Company was still the *de facto* government, and that he, as the Chief Officer, was supposed to protect the property of the Company, if nothing more. He says: "Excepting in one respect—but that, I am sorry to say, a serious if not in a formidable sense—little change, as far as we can learn, has, since my last, come over the arrangements or the spirit of these people * * *. The occurrence to which I have alluded in the preceding paragraph as being serious is this, that on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 2nd inst., a number of these daring people suddenly, and without the least intimation of their intention to make such a move, took possession of the gates of Fort Garry, where they placed themselves inside and outside the gates, to the number in all of about one hundred and twenty, and where, night and day, they have constantly kept a pretty strong armed guard. On being asked what they meant by such a movement upon the Fort, they said their object was to protect it. Protect it from what? they were asked. Their answer was—from danger. Against what danger? they were asked. To this question, they replied that they could not now specify the danger, but that they would do so hereafter, and obstinately took up the positions they have since kept in spite of all our protests and remonstrances at such a bold and high-handed proceeding. On coming into the Fort, they earnestly disclaimed all intention of injuring either person or property within it, and it must be allowed that in that respect they have kept their word; but it is an inconvenience and a danger next to intolerable,

to have a body of armed men, even with professions of peace towards ourselves, forcibly billeted upon an establishment such as this. Their intentions in coming to the Fort they have never definitely expressed, nor have they yet specified the danger from which their presence was meant to protect the place. We are, therefore, left in some measure to conjectures, and by these we are strongly led to believe that you were expected to come to the Fort, and that by thus having previous possession of the gates, they felt that they would be sure of keeping you out." The extreme simplicity of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in being "led to believe" that the object of Riel in taking possession of the Fort was to keep Mr. Macdougall out, is certainly refreshing—especially as he had been informed ten days before that the capture of the Fort was intended for that very purpose.

Headquarters being thus removed from Rivière Sale to more comfortable quarters, the Councils were resumed, and on the sixth of November Riel proceeded to the village and directed Mr. Walter Bown, proprietor of the *Nor'-Wester*, to print him a Proclamation, and, on his refusing to do so, immediately made him a prisoner, placed a guard over the office, and caused the Proclamation to be printed under the supervision of Mr. James Ross*. The possession of Fort Garry

---

* PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERT'S LAND.

The President and Representatives of the French speaking population of Rupert's Land in Council (the invaders of our rights being now expelled), already aware of your sympathy, do extend the hand of friendship to you, our friendly fellow inhabitants; and in so doing, do hereby invite you to send twelve representatives from the following places viz:—

St. John's	1	St. Margaret	1
Headingly	1	St. James	1
St. Mary's	1	Kildonan	1
St. Clement's	1	St. Andrew's	1
St. Paul's	1	St. Peter's	1

Town of Winnipeg..... 2

in order to form one body with the above Council, consisting of twelve members, to consider the present political state of this country and to adopt such measures as may be best fitted for the future welfare of the same.

gave such confidence to the insurgents that they assumed the inspection of goods coming from the United States, and seized all guns and ammunition, thus obtaining a number of double and single buffalo hunting guns, the loss of which was severely felt when the settlers attempted resistance. At this time W. B. O'Donohue joined the movement and assumed the duties of Treasurer, collecting the four per cent. imposed on all merchandise which had been always levied by the Hudson's Bay Company. O'Donohue was a very valuable accession to the insurgent ranks, as he had been educated for the priesthood, possessed considerable intelligence, and at that time occupied the responsible positions of teacher in the Roman Catholic School at St. Boniface, and private tutor to the children of Governor MacTavish, whom O'Donohue did not hesitate to charge with being the instigator of the rebellion.*

On receipt of Governor MacTavish's letter informing him of the capture of Fort Garry, the Hon. Mr. Macdougall wrote to that gentleman, urging on him that until the actual trans-

---

A meeting of the above Council will be held in the Court House at Fort Garry, on Tuesday, the 16th day of November, at which the invited representatives will attend.

By order of the President,

LOUIS RIEL,

Secretary.

Fort Garry, 6th November, 1869

* In a letter addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, dated 26th February, 1875, Mr. O'Donohue says:

"I make the following statement of facts, which I can prove most conclusively:

"The insurrection was advised by Governor William MacTavish who, with other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, also aided and abetted it from its inception up to the very hour it ceased to exist. That Riel was in constant communication with Governor MacTavish, and on many occasions under his instructions. That he, Governor MacTavish, fully recognised the Provisional Government. That Donald A. Smith, on arriving at Fort Garry, recognised the Government also in my own hearing, and with Governor MacTavish, was Riel's adviser during his stay in the Fort, and after the departure of both of these from the country, Riel continued to hold counsel with John MacTavish, who then represented the Hudson's Bay Company."

fer of the territory took place the Hudson's Bay Company was the only government, and that it was his duty, as Governor of that Company, to issue a Proclamation calling on the insurgents to disperse, and to take such other steps as may be necessary to insure the peaceful transfer of the territory, as agreed on in the contract, when the time for that transfer came. To this remonstrance from Mr. Macdougall Governor MacTavish paid no attention, and matters were allowed to remain *in statu quo*, as far as any attempt to put down the insurgents was concerned. The capture of Fort Garry and the seizure of all arms showed plainly to the Canadians that the insurgents meant to establish a government by force, and they, therefore, drew up an address to Governor MacTavish, which was largely signed, calling upon him to issue a Proclamation calling upon the insurgents to lay down their arms. This address was presented on the 12th November, but it was not until four days after—the very day of the meeting of the Convention called by Riel—that the Governor at last issued his tardy Proclamation, reciting the unlawful acts which had been committed, and charging all those engaged "immediately to disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations or their lawful business, under the pains and penalties of the law." The Proclamation was a very weak production, not worth insertion here, and seems to have been purposely held back by Governor MacTavish until the day of the meeting of the Convention, in order that the English portion of the people might partly commit themselves to the movement by electing delegates to attend. The English were unwilling to appear in any way to sanction the acts of Riel and his associates; and were only induced to send members to the Convention by the circulation of a rumor that the result of the meeting would be an abandonment of their position by the insurgents, and the extension of an invitation to Hon. Mr. Macdougall to enter the Settlement in peace.

The English-speaking portion of the community was ex-

tremely loth to pay any attention to the Proclamation of "The President and Representatives of the French-speaking population of Rupert's Land" issued by Riel on 6th November, inviting them to send delegates to the Convention to be held at Fort Garry, on 16th; but partly induced by the hope that they might be able to influence the Convention to some good purpose, they finally agreed to send delegates, and representatives were chosen.* The Convention met in the Court House, which was guarded by 150 armed men, and all the members were present, except one English delegate who became so much alarmed at the display of force around the building that he returned home. To this assembly the Proclamation of Governor MacTavish was read, the insurgent portion seeming to regard it as a weak show of authority, and the English members regarding it as a farce. The read-

---

* The following is a list of the members elected:

ENGLISH MEMBERS.

Town of Winnipeg	Henry McKenny. H. F. O'Lone.
Kildonan	James Ross.
St. John's	Maurice Lowman.
St. Paul's	Dr. Bird.
St. Andrew's	Donald Gunn.
St. Clement's	Thomas Bunn.
St. Peter's	Henry Prince. Indian Chief of the Saulteux
St. James'	Robert Tait.
Headingly	William Tait.
St. Ann's	Geo. Gunn.
Portage-la-Prairie	John Garrioch.

FRENCH MEMBERS.

St. François Xavier	François Dauphinais. Pierre Poitras. Pierre Laviellier.
St. Boniface	W. B. O'Donohue.
St. Vital	André Beauchemin. Pierre Paranteau, Sr.
St. Norbert	Baptiste Towron. Louis Lacerte.
St. Anne's	Charles Nolin. Jean Baptiste Perreault.

JOHN BRUCE, President.
LOUIS RIEL, Secretary.

ing of the Poclamation and the protests of the English members against the show of force concluded the first day's business, and nothing beyond talk was accomplished on the following day. The eighteenth and nineteenth being the days appointed for holding the Hudson's Bay Company's Quarterly Court, the Convention adjourned until the twenty-second, in order that the room might be used for its legitimate purpose. The Court met, disposed of some criminal cases, but, singular to say, no reference was made to the acts of lawlessness committed by the insurgents.

On the 22nd November, the Convention again assembled, and after debating all day on the advantages, or otherwise, of an union with Canada, nothing was arrived at. One English member finally proposed that the French should lay down their arms, and then both sides of the population would be on equal footing to discuss matters ; and suggested that Mr. Macdougall should be allowed to enter the Territory, so that all could place their grievances before him and seek redress. On this Riel rose excitedly and said that Mr. Macdougall should never enter the Territory, either as a private individual or as a Governor. That broke up the meeting for that day. On the 23rd, Riel and party seized the books and records of the Council of Assiniboia, and, on the meeting of the delegates that day, threw off the mask and declared the intention of the French members to form a Provisional Government. The English delegates declaring that that was a question they could not discuss without consulting their constituents, it was agreed to adjourn the Convention until 1st December.

Up to this period Riel and his followers had made a pretence of respecting the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company as a governing power, and the Hudson's Bay Company took the equally strange course of assuming that they were overcome by force, without ever having made the slightest attempt to put down that force ; but on the 24th, Riel no longer kept up the farce of pretending to respect the author-

ity of the Hudson's Bay Company, but going to the office of Mr. Roger Goulet, Collector of Customs under the Hudson's Bay Company, took posession of all books, papers, cash and due bills. On the same day he attempted to take posession of a quantity of goods belonging to the Canadian Government, which were stored in the premises of Dr. John Schultz, and placed a guard over the store; but the guard was enticed away while Riel was at lunch and the store locked, and although Riel brought out two field pieces and pointed them at Dr. Schultz's house, threatening to knock it down if the stores were not given up, the Doctor remained firm, and Riel, anxious to avoid firing the first shot, was content to let the goods remain where they were for the present.

Shortly after this an effort was made to induce the French to agree to a middle course, that of allowing the Hudson's Bay Company to rule until matters were arranged; and to appoint a Committee which should represent all shades of opinion, to confer with Mr. Macdougall at Pembina. As Riel was anxious to induce the English delegates to attend the adjourned Convention on 1st December, so as to give a color of unanimity to his contemplated assumption of supreme power, he pretended to agree to this proposal, although, at the same time he was industriously circulating reports among his own party, calculated to still more incense them against Mr. Macdougall and the Canadian party. In order to be sure of a majority in the Convention it was attempted to pack a meeting held in Winnipeg, but a number of Canadians having got in, and Riel, finding that the peace party was likely to obtain a majority, had the lights put out, and the next day, a special meeting was called by Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, to consider first who were to be entitled to vote, and then discuss other matters. This special meeting decided to exclude most of the Canadian votes, and the insurgent element of the town, composed of the majority of the Americans and those in the Hudson's Bay Company's interest, had things their own way.

On the first of December the adjourned meeting of delegates took place, and the English delegates soon found that their pacific proposals of the interval were to be disregarded, and that the French had prepared a list of matters they wished the English to agree to, and on their dissenting to the principal points in it, the French, who, with the two English delegates from the town of Winnipeg who were in their interest, were in a majority, passed what they called the "Bill of Rights."* This Bill being passed, the English, after making another ineffectual attempt to have a conference with Mr. Macdougall, retired to their homes, feeling that they had only been called together to give a color of unani-

---

*BILL OF RIGHTS.

1. The right to elect our own Legislature.

2. The Legislature to have power to pass all laws, local to the Territory, over the veto of the Executive, by a two-thirds vote

3. No Act of the Dominion Parliament (local to this Territory) to be binding on the people until sanctioned by their representatives.

4. All Sheriffs, Magistrates, Constables, &c., &c., to be elected by the people—a free homestead and pre-emption law.

5. A portion of the public lands to be appropriated to the benefit of schools, the building of the roads, bridges and parish buildings.

6. A guarantee to connect Winnipeg by rail with the nearest line of railroad—the land grant for such road or roads to be subject to the Legislature of the Territory.

7. For four years the public expenses of the Territory, civil, military and municipal, to be paid out of the Dominion Treasury.

8. The military to be composed of the people now existing in the Territory.

9. The French and English language to be common in the Legislature and Council, and all public documents and Acts of the Legislature to be published in both languages.

10. That the Judge of the Superior Court speak both French and English.

11. Treaties to be concluded and ratified between the Government and several tribes of Indians of this Territory, calculated to insure peace in future.

12. That all privileges, customs and usages existing at the time of the transfer be respected.

13. That these rights be guaranteed by Mr. Macdougall before he be admitted into this Territory.

14. If he have not the power himself to grant them, he must get an Act of Parliament passed expressly securing us the rights; and until such Act be obtained, he must stay outside the Territory.

15. That we have full and fair representation in the Dominion Parliament.

mity to proceedings which they remonstrated against, and which they, in common with the loyal portion of the French population, saw, might lead to the gravest consequences.

CHAPTER XVII.

ACTION OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT—MR. MACDOUGALL ISSUES TWO PROCLAMATIONS—THE MISSION OF COLONEL DENNIS—ITS FAILURE—AFFAIRS IN WINNIPEG—CAPTURE OF DR. SCHULTZ—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—THE REBEL FLAG—ARRIVAL OF THE CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS.

The news that Mr. Macdougall had been prevented from entering the Territory caused the greatest excitement in Canada, especially in Ontario, and the wildest rumors were for a while current.

The Government set itself promptly to work to calm the agitation of the Half-breeds and to endeavour to effect a peaceful transfer of the country. Telegraphic communication was opened with the Colonial Office immediately on receipt of Mr. Macdougall's letter of 31st of October, advising the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he had been stopped at Pembina, and the Home Office kept fully advised of events as they occurred. Steps were also taken to send parties who were supposed to have some influence with the French Half-breeds to reason with them, show them the extent of the position they were assuming, and tell them that Canada had no intention of infringing on any of their rights and priviliges. For this purpose Vicar-General Thibault, who had spent over thirty years in the North-West, and Col. DeSalaberry were invited, and accepted a mission to the North-West to calm and appease the portion of the community which was excited. At the same time overtures were made by the Government to Mr. Donald A. Smith, Chief Agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Montreal, to undertake a Special Commission to the North-West, which he accepted, and left Ottawa on 14th December, 1869. The

powers given to Mr. Smith were very large, and he was commissioned to enquire into all causes of grievance and report as to the best means of removing them. His commission ran:—"Now know ye, that having confidence in your honesty, fidelity, and integrity, we do, by these presents, nominate, constitute, and appoint you, the said Donald A. Smith, to be our Special Commissioner, to enquire into the cause, nature, and extent of the obstruction offered at the Red River, in the North-West Territories, to the peaceable ingress of the Hon. William Macdougall, and other parties, authorized by our Governor-General of Canada to proceed into the same; and also to enquire into the causes of the discontent and dissatisfaction alleged to exist in respect to the proposed union of the North-West Territories with the Dominion of Canada; and further, to explain to the inhabitants of the said country the principles on which the Government of Canada intends to administer the Government of the country, according to such instructions as may be given to you by our Governor in Council in this behalf; and to take steps to remove any misapprehensions which may exist in respect to the mode of Government of the same, and to report to our Governor General the result of such enquiries; and on the best mode of quieting and removing such discontent and dissatisfaction; and also, to report on the most proper and fitting mode for effecting the speedy transfer of the country and Government from the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Government of Canada with the general assent of the inhabitants." At the same time that these gentlemen were being despached, a Proclamation was issued by the Governor-General on he authority of the Colonial Office, offering amnesty to all those who immediately dispersed; and it was hoped that this Proclamation and the presence of Mr. Commissioner Smith would have the effect of restoring order, and allowing the transfer to be peaceably made, and that Mr. Macdougall would be allowed to enter the Territory.

While these steps towards a peaceful solution of the difficulty

were being taken in Ottawa, everything in the colony and on the frontier betokened war. Mr. Macdougall, on being forced to retire from the Territory, took up his residence at Pembina, where he remained about six weeks. His position was peculiar and embarrassing. Hampered with his own family as well as the members of his staff and proposed new Government, he found himself with about twenty persons in his party, and scarcely accommodation for one-third of that number, with winter coming on, the hope of reaching Fort Garry diminishing, and the dangers and difficulties of returning to St. Paul daily increasing. To this must be added the humiliation of being kept hanging about the borders of the Settlement, while the authorities made no effort to assist him, and Governor MacTavish contented himself with advising him, like Micawber, to wait " for something to turn up."

Becoming convinced at last that he need expect no help from the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, and believing that the transfer would be made on the first of December, and his commission as Lieutenant-Governor thereby go into effect, he commenced making preparations for that event, with a view to calling on the loyal portion of the population to put down the insurgents, either by a show of force, or by actual strength of arms if necessary. He was kept well advised of the state of affairs in the Settlement, and felt well assured that as soon as he could issue a Proclamation as the representative of Her Majesty, the loyalty of the Canadians and English Half-breeds would assert itself and the French would hesitate to offer armed resistance to the representative of the Queen, where they did not scruple to attempt to scare the Hon. Mr. Macdougall. Although aware of the surrender of Fort Garry—for it can be called nothing else—by the Hudson's Bay authorities, he still had hopes that the insurgents would lay down their arms when there was any show of force and authority against them. In this, however; events proved that he was mistaken, and the Settlement very narrowly escaped a most disastrous war of creeds and races.

On the same eventful 1st of December on which the Convention re-assembled at Fort Garry and ultimately passed the "Bill of Rights," Mr. Macdougall, acting on the supposition that the transfer to Canada had been made on that day, issued a Proclamation announcing his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories. Mr. Macdougall has been blamed, and with some justice, for precipitancy in issuing this Proclamation before receiving information that the Territory had been transferred to Canada, and it was certainly unfortunate that he so far committed himself without sufficient information, for it so happened that the Territory had *not* been transferred, and Mr. Macdougall had no more legal right to issue a Proclamation than Mr. Riel had, and the insurgents knew that he had not the power and laughed at the Proclamation and its promulgator. There is no reason to doubt that Mr. Macdougall was quite honest in issuing his Proclamation, and believed that, by straining a point, he had the right to do so, for when he left Canada the first of December was the date agreed on for the transfer, and although he had not received official information that the £300,000 had been paid and the transfer made by the Hudson's Bay Company, neither had he received any intimation that negotiations had been suspended.

On the same day that he proclaimed himself Governor of the North-West Territories, Mr. Macdougall issued a Commission to Col. J. S. Dennis, as his Lieutenant and "Conservator of the Peace," authorizing him to raise, arm and equip troops, &c., very extensive powers being given him, as may be gathered from the following extract from his commission: "Know you, that reposing trust and confidence in your courage, loyalty, fidelity, discretion, and ability, and under, and in virtue of the authority in me vested, I have nominated and appointed, and, by these presents, do nominate and appoint you, the said John Stoughton Dennis, to be my Lieutenant and a Conservator of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories, and do hereby authorize and

empower you as such to raize, organise, arm, equip and provision, a sufficient force within the said Territories, and with the said force, to attack, arrest, disarm, or disperse the said armed men so unlawfully assembled and disturbing the public peace: and for that purpose, and with the force aforesaid, to assault, fire upon, pull down, or break into any fort, house, stronghold, or other place in which the said armed men may be found; and I hereby authorize you, as such Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace, to hire, purchase, impress, and take all necessary clothing, arms, ammunition and supplies, and all cattle, horses, wagons, sleighs, or other vehicles, which may be required for the use of the force to be raised as aforesaid; and I further authorize you to appoint as many officers and deputies under you, and to give them such orders and instructions from time to time, as may be found necessary for the due performance of the services herein required of you, reporting to me the said appointments and orders as you shall find opportunity, for confirmation or otherwise; and I hereby give you full power and authority to call upon all Magistrates and Peace-officers to aid and assist you, and to order all or any of the inhabitants of the North-West Territories, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, to support and assist you in protecting the lives and properties of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, and in preserving the public peace, and for that purpose to seize, disperse, or overcome by force, the said armed men and all others, who may be found aiding or abetting them in their unlawful acts. And the said persons so called upon in Her Majesty's name, are hereby ordered and enjoined at their peril, to obey your orders and directions in that behalf; and this shall be sufficient warrant for what you or they do in the premises, so long as this Commission remains in force."

Armed with this Commission, which seemed to be ample and sweeping enough, but which was really not worth the paper it was written on, as Mr. Macdougall had no authority to issue it, Colonel Dennis at once made his way to Winnipeg

and communicated with some of the "friends of law and order," as the loyal party was sometimes called. He took possession of the Stone Fort, or Lower Fort Garry, appointed a number of officers in the different parishes, and began enrolling his men. At first the English Half-breeds were quite enthusiastic, and the Christian Indians, under their Chief "Prince," tendered their services and a force of fifty was retained by Colonel Dennis to guard the fort. This incautious action gave rise to the report that Hon. Mr. Macdougall was enrolling the Sioux and other tribes to fight the French, and caused great anxiety in Canada for a while, as well as a great fear in Minnesota and Dakota that their frontier would be plunged into all the horrors of an Indian war; but the fear was soon allayed by the repudiation by Hon. Mr. Macdougall of any intention of employing Indians; and the collapse of Colonel Dennis' mission as "Conservator of the Peace" soon dispelled any danger of an actual conflict. The distribution by Riel amongst the Scotch and English Half-breeds of the "Bill of Rights" adopted by the Convention on the first of December had the effect of making many waver in their opposition to him and rather disposed to think that he was only demanding what was just in requiring some kind of guarantee from the Canadian Government that their rights and property would be respected. Again, many of the Scotch Half-breeds were rich, and they hesitated about engaging in a strife where they saw that the men of property would be the first and most heavy losers; so that although Colonel Dennis, in his *role* of Conservator, enrolled some 400 men in the different parishes, they soon grew lukewarm and he became convinced that no rising could be effected. He, however, endeavored to effect a meeting between Riel and Hon. Mr. Macdougall, which Riel promised should take place, but broke his promise. Another thing which operated very unfavorably against Mr. Macdougall was the doubt which was soon thrown upon his right to the title of Lieutenant Governor, there being no official notifica-

tion of the transfer; and Colonel Dennis, finding he could do nothing, and that his authority was doubtful, prudently retired to Pembina, and shortly after returned to Canada with Mr. Macdougall, who left Pembina on 18th December, as soon as he found that his Commission was worthless, and that he could do no good by remaining longer.

Coming back to affairs at Fort Garry, we find that on the refusal of the English delegates to the Convention which closed its sittings on the 1st December, to join in the formation of a Provisional Government, Riel determined to carry matters with a high hand. Being informed that the Hon. Mr. Macdougall's Proclamation was being printed at the office of the *Nor'-Wester*, he endeavoured to arrest its proprietor, Mr. W. R. Bown, and took possession of the office, but not until the Proclamation had been printed. On the same evening (1st Dec.) an attempt was made to arrest Dr. Schultz, who was the most objectionable of all the "Canadian" party to Riel, but the Doctor was absent at the Stone Fort consulting with Colonel Dennis, and the only result was an alarm to Mrs. Schultz, who was an invalid. The village of Winnipeg was now in a state of great excitement and confusion; armed guards patrolled the streets; the Canadians were placed under surveillance; the Proclamations of Hon. Mr. Macdougall, which had been posted up in conspicuous places, were torn down, and general alarm prevailed. While Colonel Dennis was enrolling all the recruits he could muster at the Stone Fort or others places, the Canadians in Winnipeg, to the number of about fifty, who had been already enrolled, assembled at the house of Dr. Schultz, about eight hundered yards' distance from Fort Garry, to protect the property of the Canadian Government stored there. This small force, which was but imperfectly armed, put the place in as good a state of defence as possible, and soon was in a state of siege by Riel, who had now over three hundered men with him. Several times the parties very nearly came into collision, but each side was anxious to have the other

fire the first shot, and they stood very much like a couple of school boys, anxious to fight but each afraid to "strike first."

For three days the Canadian party in Dr. Schultz's house remained in a state of siege, and in the meanwhile the hopes of Colonel Dennis being able to raise any considerable force were dissipated. Fearing that a collision might occur, Colonel Dennis sent an order to the Canadians to leave Winnipeg and go to Kildonan School-house, as he could not come to their assistance; and warning them on no account to be provoked into firing the first shot. The bearer of this order was captured by Riel, and it gave him increased confidence. Cut off from wood and water the little force began to feel the pressure of the investment. Exhausted by the necessity of being at their posts night and day, they decided on the evening of the sixth to attempt to cut their way out on the following day, but on that morning Riel sent in Lépine and Moran, two of his prominent followers, and Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, brother-in-law of Governor MacTavish, under a flag of truce. Through these persons the Canadians were told that Riel knew that Colonel Dennis had advised them to surrender (which was correct), that he had agreed to have an interview with Hon. Mr. Macdougall, and that if they would march up to Fort Garry they would simply be disarmed and allowed to go where they pleased. Some of the party doubted the sincerity of this promise; but on the assurance of Bannatyne, the only one of the party who spoke English, that the agreement would be faithfully kept, and that he would personally guarantee all private property, the Canadians surrendered, and with Mrs. Schultz, Mrs. Mair, and Mrs. O'Donnell, were taken to Fort Garry; not, however, to be released, for they found when disarmed that the gates were shut, a *feu de joie* fired, and arrangements made for their close imprisonment.*

* The following is the list of prisoners taken on 7th December:

John Schultz, M.D.	W. J. Davis,
Arthur Hamilton,	J. B. Haines,

Dr. Schultz and the majority of the prisoners were within the walls of the Fort and securely guarded, while Thomas Scott and some others were placed in the prison of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was outside the walls, and withal not a very secure building. Having by his promise to meet Hon. Mr. Macdougall induced Colonel Dennis to discontinue his efforts to enroll men, and, by his duplicity, captured the Canadians who were in arms, there was now no force available to oppose Riel, and the night of the seventh was one of high orgies among the insurgents. Riel and his Court became outrageously drunk on the rum found amongst the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company. The work of capturing the Canadians without firing a shot accomplished, Riel forgot his promise to see Mr. Macdougall, and on the very next day (the eighth of December) issued a Proclamation, which was virtually a Declaration of Independence, and which bore such unmistakable signs of American "spread-eagleism" in its composition that its authorship was

---

G. D. McVicar,	H Weightman,
R. P. Meade,	L. W. Archibald,
Henry Woodington,	C. E. Palmer,
W. J. Allen,	George Berbar,
Thomas Langman,	Matthew Davis,
James Lynch, M.D.,	Archibald Wright,
George Fontney,	Peter McArthur,
Wm. Graham,	Robert R. Smith,
Wm. Nimmons,	James C. Kent,
Wm. Kittson,	J. M. Cocmbs,
John Ferguson,	A. R. Chisholm,
Wm. Spice,	John Eccles,
Thomas Lusted,	John Ivy,
James Stewart,	F. C. Mugridge,
D. A. Campbell,	George Nichol,
John O'Donnell, M.D.,	George Miller,
W. F. Hyman,	James H. Ashdown,
James Mulligan,	A. W. Graham,
Charles Garratt,	D. Cameron,
T. Franklin,	J. H. Stocks,

John Hallett.

Thomas Scott and William Hallett were also captured while out as Scouts on a former night.

generally attributed to Stuttsman, the Postsmaster of Pembina, who was a rabid Annexationist and a great friend of Riel's.

On the 10th of December the flag of the Provisional Government was unfurled over Fort Garry in place of the Hudson's Bay Company's flag. This new flag was the French *Fleur de lis* on a white ground to which the Shamrock was afterwards added. With reference to this flag, Archbishop Taché in his evidence before the Select Committee of Parliament on the North-West Territory, 18th April, 1874, said: "There was no British flag used in the country for some time previous to the movement. When the Hudson's Bay Company did use a flag, it was not the British flag proper, it was a 'Union Jack,' with the letters 'H. B. C.' For two years, probably, previous to the movements, there was no British flag hoisted in the country, except the flag of Dr. Schultz, a 'Union Jack,' which had the word 'Canada' upon it, and it was considered a party flag. Mr. Riel considered that if one man in the country had a right to raise a flag of his own, the same right extended to other men. The flag used by the Provisional Government was the French flag with the '*Fleur de lis*,' to which was afterwards added the Shamrock, so there was never any such thing as taking down the British flag at all, about which so much has been said. On account of the letters 'H. B. C.' on the flag, it was considered the flag of the Company. It used to be the practice to fly this flag on Sundays, but for some months before the troubles this practice had ceased, and as far as I know this flag was not hoisted at all for some months. Schultz's flag was, as I understand, hoisted in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company." The hoisting of the rebel flag by Riel gave great offence throughout Canada, and his real design began to be suspected,—which was plainly absolute Independence or annexation to the United States. Riel's position now seemed secure. He had in close confinement a body of men who, though few in number, he had feared very much; by misre-

presentation be had got rid of Colonel Dennis and Hon. Mr. Macdougall, and he now turned his attention to the administration of affairs. John Bruce retired from the Presidency, which Riel assumed; O'Donohue was continued in his office of Treasurer; Lépine was made Adjutant-General and Bannatyne was given charge of the Post-Office Department. Councillors were appointed who were in daily session, and a large stock of trading and other goods belonging to Dr. Schultz was taken possession of, under a formal edict of confiscation passed by the "Council." Guards were continued in the village of Winnipeg, but, apparently fearing the slumbering feeling of the English natives—or, perhaps, still hoping to gain them over to the support of his Government—Riel did not interfere at this time with the English Parishes. Strong efforts were made also at this time to get the neighboring Indians to join the insurgents, but this totally failed, principally because the foresight of Mr. Macdougall had caused him to authorize Joseph Monkman, an English Half-breed of great influence among the tribes, to visit their camps, explain the position, and urge them to remain loyal to the Queen. This task Monkman so faithfully performed that not one single Indian joined Riel's standard.

Riel was now at the head of a Government and began to feel the need of an organ in which to expound his views, and on the 22nd of December, purchased from Mr. W. Caldwell, the proprietor, *The Red River Pioneer*, a journal which had hitherto been published in the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. Of course Riel needed funds with which to make this purchase, and on the same afternoon he seized a sufficient sum from the Accountant of the Hudson's Bay Company. On Christmas Day John Bruce retired from the Presidency, but still remained a member of the Council. On the twenty-sixth Vicar-General Thibault arrived at the Fort, the other Commissioner from Canada, Colonel DeSalaberry, having decided to remain a few days at Pembina; and on the twenty-seventh Mr. Donald A. Smith, Special Commissioner, reached

the Fort, having left his papers at Pembina until he was sure of what kind of a reception he would meet with. His reception does not appear to have been an enthusiastic one, judging from his report to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, dated 12th April, 1870. He says: "The gate of the Fort we found open, but guarded by several armed men, who, on my desiring to be shown to Governor MacTavish's house, requested me to wait till they could communicate with their Chief. In a short time Mr. Louis Riel appeared. I announced my name; he said he had heard of my arrival at Pembina, and was about to send off a party to bring me in. I then accompanied him to a room occupied by ten or twelve men, whom he introduced to me as members of the 'Provisional Government.' He requested to know the pur port of my visit, to which I replied in substance that I was connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, but also held a Commission from the Canadian Government to the people of Red River, and would be prepared to produce my credentials so soon as they, the people, were willing to receive me. I was then asked to take an oath not to attempt to leave the Fort that night, nor to upset this government, legally established. This request I peremptorily refused to comply with, but said that, being very tired, I had no desire to go outside the gate that night, and promised to take no immediate steps forcibly to upset the so-called 'Provisional Government,' 'legal or illegal, as it might be,' without first announcing my intention to do so: Mr. Riel taking exception to the word illegal, while I insisted on retaining it. Mr. O'Donohue, to get over the difficulty, remarked 'That is as he (meaning myself) understands it,' to which I rejoined, 'Precisely so'. The above explanation, I am more particular in giving, as it has been reported that I at once acknowledged the Provisional Government to be legal. Neither then nor afterwards did I do so. I took up my quarters in one of the houses occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company's Officers, and from that date until towards the close of February, was

virtually a prisoner within the Fort, although with permission to go outside the walls for exercise, accompanied by two armed guards, a privilege of which I never availed myself. The state of matters at this time in and around Fort Garry, was most unsatisfactory and truly humiliating. Upwards of sixty British subjects were held in close confinement as 'political prisoners;' security for persons or property, there was none; the Fort, with its large supplies of ammunition, provisions, and stores of all kinds, was in the possession of a few hundred French Half-breeds, whose leaders had declared their determination to use every effort for the purpose of annexing the Territory to the United States; and the Governor and Council of Assiniboia were powerless to enforce the law."

So closed the year, darkly enough for the solitary little settlement in the wilderness, but ere another year elapsed it was to experience great changes and the foundations be laid for that marvellous growth which has characterized it for the past ten years, and which is fast making it one of the most flourishing portions of the Dominion.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INACTIVITY OF THE CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS—RIEL'S OFFICIAL ORGAN—ESCAPE OF PRISONERS—MASS MEETING—ESCAPE OF DR. SCHULTZ—THE CONVENTION—THE SECOND "PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT" FORMED—APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES TO CANADA—THE RISING AT KILDONAN—CAPTURE OF THE PORTAGE DETACHMENT—THE FIRST BLOOD SPILLED—MAJOR BOULTON CONDEMNED TO DEATH—M. SMITH ELECTIONEERS FOR RIEL—DR. SCHULTZ' 500 MILE TRAMP ON SNOW-SHOES.

The first event of importance which occurred in the settlement in the year 1870 was the arrival of Colonel DeSalaberry at Fort Garry on the 5th January; but even then, though all the Commissioners had arrived, no steps were taken to further the object of their mission. Mr. Smith in his report says: "On the 6th January, I saw Mr. Riel, and soon come to the conclusion that no good could arise from entering into any negotiations with his 'Council,' even were we to admit their authority, which I was not prepared to do;" the Commissioner, therefore, contented himself with biding his time to get an opportunity to address the people, and meanwhile, as Mr. Smith says, they "had frequent visits in the Fort from some of the most influential and most reliable men in the settlement, who gladly made known to the people generally, the liberal intentions of the Canadian Government, and in consequence one after another of Riel's Councillors seceded from him, and being joined by their friends and by many of their compatriots and co-religionists who had throughout remained aloof from the insurgents, they determined no longer to submit to his dictation." This took some days to accomplish, and it is noticeable that *The New Nation*, the official organ of the Provisional Government,

made no mention of Mr. Smith as a Commissioner, but merely said "D. A. Smith, Esq, General Manager for the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, arrived at Fort Garry last week. He comes to assist Governor MacTavish during his illness in the management of the Company's affairs."

With reference to this paper, *The New Nation*, the first number of which appeared on the seventh of January, 1870, we would state that it was edited by an American named Robinson, and strongly advocated Annexation to the United States as the ultimate destiny of the Red River Territory. In the leading article headed "Our Policy," which appeared in the first number, the aim and object of the paper is thus clearly stated; "Something as to our policy will be expected from us in this number, and we proceed briefly to define our position. In common with the majority of this settlement we regard the Hudson's Bay Company's Government as obsolete, and never to be resuscitated. The Dominion Government by its criminal blunders and gross injustice to this people have for ever alienated them; and by their forfeiture of all right to our respect, will prevent us in future from either seeking or permitting its protection. The Imperial Government we consider to be too far distant to intelligently administer our affairs. The question arises, then, what form of Government is best adopted for the development of this country? And we reply, unhesitatingly, that the United States Republic offers us to day that system of Government which would best promote order and progress in our midst, and open up rapidly a country of magnificent resources. But in our present dependent position, we cannot obtain what we need in that direction, and hence we will hold it to be our duty to advocate Independence for the people of Red River as a present cure for public ills. Our annexation to the States will follow in time and bring with it the advantages this land so much requires." This tone was continued until the return of Bishop Taché to the

colony, when the paper was suspended for two weeks, and on its reappearance, under new management, it was much more temperate in its style, and even tried to be loyal—but made rather a poor attempt at it.

On this same seventh of January, arrangements were made for the return to Red River of Bishop Taché, who was in Rome attending the Œcumenical Council. When it was known in Ottawa that the troubles in the settlement were likely to prove of a serious nature, it was felt by the members of the Government that the Bishop was the one man who had most influence over the French Half-breeds, amongst whom he had labored most faithfully for over twenty years, and an enquiry was made by the Hon. Mr. Langevin, Minister of Public Works, through his brother, the Bishop of Rimouski, who was also in Rome, to know whether Bishop Taché would be willing to return. To this enquiry His Grace replied in the affirmative, and on the seventh a telegram was sent from Ottawa gladly accepting his services, and the Bishop left Rome as speedily as possible.

On the ninth of January a number of the prisoners who had been captured at Dr. Schultz's house escaped from the Hudson's Bay prison, which was outside of the Fort Garry walls. Amongst these were Thomas Scott, Charles Mair and W. T. Hyman. Although the night was intensely cold and stormy, Scott and Mair succeeded in making good their escape to Portage la Prairie, but Hyman lost his way, and, wandering on until his feet were frozen, took refuge in a house whose owners informed Riel, and he was speedily recaptured and brought back to the more secure prison inside the Fort Garry walls, where Dr. Schultz and others were confined. Seven of those who attempted to escape were recaptured.

To return to Mr. Smith : After he had been nearly three weeks in Fort Garry, Riel approached him on the subject of his mission, and requested to see his Commission, as he wanted to see whether he had authority to offer or accept any

terms from the French Half-breeds.* Mr. Smith informed him that his Commission had been left at Pembina, but offered to send a friend for it and other papers, provided he was given an opportunity of speaking to the people. To this Riel consented, and the messenger was despatched; but Riel endeavored to get possession of the papers before they reached Mr. Smith, who was kept a close prisoner, and not allowed to speak to any one while his messenger was away for his papers.

On the arrival of the papers it was, after some difficulty, agreed that a public meeting should be held on the nineteenth, at which the papers should be produced and read. At the hour appointed upwards of one thousand persons had assembled, and, as there was no building large enough to accommodate them, the meeting was held in the open air, and lasted five hours, although the thermometer was twenty degrees below zero. A large proportion of the audience were composed of English Half-breeds who came in the belief that the Commissioners would at once insist on hoisting the British flag, and the release of the prisoners, whose close and crowded confinement was already inducing sickness and disease amongst them. In this hope, however, they were disappointed, and the time of the meeting was mostly occupied by frivolous objections raised by Riel and the reading of a portion of the documents. With regard to the hoisting the flag, Mr. Smith says: "At the commencement of the meeting I requested the Chairman and those near him to begin by insisting that all arms should be laid down, and that the flag then flying (*Fleur-de-lis* and Shamrock) should be replaced by the British ensign. This they thought would come better at an after-stage; but the opportunity of doing so now lost, never recurred." Mr. Smith neglects to state why he himself did not renew the demand for the hoisting of the British flag and the release of the prisoners. The reading of the

* Compiled from Hon. D. A. Smith's Report.

papers, Queen's Proclamation, &c., not being completed before night set in, the meeting was adjourned until noon the next day, when even a larger number was present than on the previous day. On the documents all being read, Riel moved, seconded by Mr. Bannatyne, "That twenty representatives shall be elected by the English population of Red River, to meet twenty other representatives of the French population, on Tuesday, the 25th inst., at noon, in the Court House, with the object of considering the subject of Mr. Smith's Commission, and to decide what would be best for the welfare of the country." After some slight objection to the motion as implying a doubt of Mr. Smith's Commission, the motion was carried. Many of those who had attended the meeting were puzzled at the Commissioners not insisting on an answer from Riel and his Council, as they alone represented the insurgent element; and many thought they saw in Riel's proposition—seconded as it was by Governor MacTavish's brother-in law (Bannatyne)—only a desire to gain time, and win over the English Half-breeds if possible.

Riel's attention was momentarily diverted from the proposed meeting of the convention by the escape from prison, on the night of Sunday, 23rd, of Dr. Schultz, the man of all his political prisoners whom he most cordially hated, and whose liberty he most feared. A short time after the capture of the Doctor and his party, so great was Riel's fear of his making a dash on the guards with the rest of the prisoners, that he ordered Dr. Schultz to be placed in solitary confinement, and strongly guarded. The prisoners had all waited through weeks of weary confinement for the arrival of the Commissioners, believing that their first act would be the request for the liberty of British subjects confined without cause; and when the mass meeting was held under the very walls of this prison, without the slightest indication of interest on the part of the Commissioners for their release, all hopes ceased, and Dr. Schultz—who had for some time suspected, from the whispering of the guards, that the fate

afterwards meted out to Scott was determined upon for him —resolved to attempt escape. Sunday night being intensely cold, with drifting snow, was chosen as likely to enable him to elude pursuit if once his prison could be breached. A small gimlet and penknife—which had been conveyed to him by a clever stratagem of his wife's and carefully secreted for weeks—enabled the prisoner, after eight hours of labor, to make an opening through the fastenings, sufficiently large to squeeze his body through, and his Buffalo robe bed, cut into strips, was to afford safe descent into the inner court of the Fort. Unfortunately, the Buffalo robe broke, injuring the prisoner's leg by his too hasty descent to the icy path beneath, and making the task of scaling the Fort Garry wall, which he had still to accomplish, a matter of much difficulty. Throwing himself, however, from the top of the outer wall, near one of the bastions, he was fortunate enough to be received in the kindly but cold embrace of a snow drift, formed by the angle of wall and bastion. Very lame from his fall from the prison, he proceeded with halting steps through the village of Winnipeg to the friendly Half-breed settlements to the North. Fortunately the intense cold kept Riel's Winnipeg guards indoors, and the frosted windows showed them no sign of the lame refugee whose footsteps were almost instantly covered by the drifting snow, and who safely made his way to the Parish of Kildonan, and, about daylight found help and shelter under the friendly roof of Mr. Robert McBeath. The morning revealing the escape of his principal prisoner, Riel immediately sent parties of horsemen in every direction to effect his recapture; and, after curiously scanning the opening made and the Buffalo robe, proceeded to relieve his pent up wrath on the other prisoners, who, judging from the hubbub that Dr. Schultz's attempt had been successful, were venting their satisfaction in joyous songs. To this Riel put a hasty stop, and, with a malediction on the whole of them, made an example of a much respected Half-breed, named William Hallett, by iron-

ing him, hand and foot, and placing him in the part of the prison from which Dr. Schultz had escaped. The *New Nation* in mentioning the escape, says: " It appears the Doctor was confined in an upper room of one of the buildings at the Fort, closely attended by a guard. On the evening in question he requested the guard to retire from the room whilst he changed his clothes. The guard being gone the Doctor cut his robe into strips, and having by some means procured a large gimlet which he inserted in the wall below the window sill, he fastened the line to it and let himself down to the ground. Two strange cutters were seen about the Fort late in the night, which led to the supposition that his escape was effected with the knowledge of some outside parties. Be this as it may, certain it is that the redoubtable Doctor is once more enjoying his daily rations, without having his potatoes probed by a bayonet, and is permitted the luxury of a clean shirt-collar without the ceremony of an examination for letters in cipher."

The Convention of English and French delegates met in Fort Garry Court House on 25th January, and remained in session, with an adjournment of two days, until 10th February. No business was transacted on the first day on account of the absence of three of the French members, but on the second all delegates were present, and the election of officers took place.* Judge Black was unanimously called

* The following is a list of the members of the Convention :—

French Representatives.		English Representatives.	
St. Paul's	M. Thibert. Alex. Pagée. Maquer Birston.	St. Peter's	Rev. H. Cochrane. Thos. Spence.
St. François Xavier	Xavier Pagée. Pierre Poitras.	St. Clement's	Thomas Bunn. Alex. McKenzie.
St. Charles	A. McKay. J. F. Grant.	St. Andrew's	Judge Black. D. Gunn, Sr. Alfred Boyd.
St. Boniface	W. B. O'Donohue. A. Lépine. Jos. Genton. Louis Schmidt.	St. Paul's	Dr. Bird.
		Kildonan	John Frazer. Jno. Sutherland.

to the Chair, and Messrs. W. Coldwell and Louis Schmidt appointed Secretaries; Messrs. Louis Riel and James Ross agreeing to act as interpreters. On the third day a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Thomas Bunn, James Ross, Dr. Bird, Louis Riel, Louis Schmidt, and Charles Nolin, was appointed to draft a "Bill of Rights," which was to be submitted to Mr. Smith, he having agreed to examine it, and state how far, in his opinion, the Government of Canada would be disposed to grant the demands made. The Committee reported the Bill of Rights on the 29th, and it was taken up, clause by clause, and discussed with great elaborateness until the 5th Feb., when it was finally adopted, and the Convention adjourned until one o'clock on Monday, 7th, when Mr. Smith was expected to give his answers to the demands of the Bill, the Secretaries having been instructed to furnish him with a copy by eleven o'clock on Monday morning. At the time appointed Mr. Smith gave his reply to the "Bill of Rights" and concluded by inviting delegates to go to Ottawa, and consult with the Government. His speech, as reported in the *New Nation*, concluded as follows: "I have now—on the part of the Dominion Government and as authorized by them—to invite the appointment by the residents of Red River, to meet and confer with them at Ottawa, of a delegation of two or more of the residents of Red

List of the Members of the Convention—*Continued.*

French Representatives.		English Representatives.	
St. Vidal	Louis Riel. A. Beauchemin.	St. John's	James Ross.
St. Norbert	P. Parenteau. N. Larouche. B. Towron.	St. James'	Geo. Flett. Robt. Tait.
Pointe Coupée	Louis Lacerte. P. Delorme.	Headingly	John Taylor. W. Lonsdale.
Oak Point	Frs. Nolin. C. Nolin.	St. Mary's	K. McKenzie.
Pt. A. Grouette	Geo. Klyne.	St. Margaret's	W. Cummings.
		St. Ann's	Geo. Gunn. D. Spence.
		Winnipeg	Alfred H. Scott.

River—as they may think best—the delegation to confer with the Government and Legislature, and explain the wants and wishes of the Red River people, as well as to discuss and arrange for the representation of the country in Parliament. On the part of the Government I am authorized to offer a very cordial reception to the delegates who may be sent from this country to Canada. I myself feel every confidence that the result will be such as will be entirely satisfactory to the people of the North-West. It is, I know, the desire of the Canadian Government that it should be so."

On the eighth the question of sending the delegates was taken up by the Convention ; but it was soon found that this was intended to involve more than at first appeared, for Riel, Ross, O'Donohue and others urged that it was necessary to recognize and re-organize the Provisional Government before the delegates were appointed. This was rather more than the English delegates had bargained for, and they contended that they had not the power to vote on that question without first consulting their constituents, holding that the Hudson's Bay Company was the only legal Government in the country until the transfer had been made. A long and animated debate ensued, and two of the delegates, Messrs. Sutherland and Fraser, withdrew to consult with Governor MacTavish. On re-entering the Convention, Mr. Sutherland said : " In order to clear away my own doubts, I went with Mr. Fraser to see Governor MacTavish. I asked his opinion as to the advisability of forming a Provisional Government. He replied, ' Form a Government for God's sake, and restore peace and order in the settlement.' " This reply of the Governor's had considerable influence on the English delegates and, after some further debate, it was agreed to appoint a Committee " to discuss and decide on the basis and details of the Provisional Government which we have agreed is to be formed for Rupert's Land and the North West Territory." This Committee reported at the evening session of the ninth, recommending a Council of

twenty-four members, twelve French and twelve English, and suggesting the names of candidates for all the officers except President. This was afterwards filled up by the nomination of Riel, and after some discussion the report was adopted. The following is a list of the officers so elected :

President	Louis Riel.
Judge of Supreme Court	James Ross.
Sheriff	Henry McKenny.
Coroner	Dr. Bird.
Postmaster-General	A. G. B. Bannatyne.
Collectors of Customs	John Sutherland. Roger Goulet.
Secretary of State	Thomas Bunn.
Assistant-Secretary of State	Louis Schmidt.
Secretary of the Treasury	W. B. O'Donohue.

The *New Nation* in announcing these elections, says; "The confirmation of Louis Riel as President of the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land by the Convention, was announced amid salvos of artillery from the Fort, and the cheers of the delegates. The town welcomed the announcement by a grand display of fireworks and the general and continued discharge of small arms. The firing and cheering were prolonged until late in the night, everyone joining in the general enthusiasm. As the result of the amicable union of all parties upon one common platform, a general amnesty to political prisoners will shortly be proclaimed, the soldiers remanded to their homes to await orders, and everything be placed upon a peace footing. *Vive la République.*"

After the adoption of the report appointing officers of the Provisional Government, Riel ordered that Governor MacTavish, Dr. Cowan and Mr. Bannatyne, who had been prisoners (?) should be given full liberty and promised that all the prisoners should shortly be released. On the tenth a ballot was taken for delegates to Canada, and resulted in the election of Rev. M. Richot, Judge Black and Alfred H. Scott, the only objection being to the latter, as it was urged that at least one Half-breed should be in the delegation. In dismissing the Convention, Riel made a characteristic speech,

in concluding which he said : " The first Provisional Government assumes the full responsibility for all its acts. As to the prisoners, I not only repeat to you the assurance I gave yesterday, but will at once state that all the prisoners are to be released—some in one way and some in another. A few will have to leave the country, as men considered dangerous to the public peace, if left here at large. But the hardships in their case will not be very great as they are single men. One other, William Hallett, will be released, after giving full guarantees. In respect to Dr. Schultz, the position is this—he is exiled forever, and if found in the country, is liable to be shot. All his property, also, is confiscated. But here again, I would remind the Convention that the first Provisional Government assumes all the responsibility of these acts. For the support of the present Government I would further say that it is at least desirable—and I should request it—that if anyone sees Schultz in the country, he should report it. Mr. A. Lépine will receive orders to administer the oath of allegiance to the prisoners who are to be released, as he is in charge of the Fort. As for Schultz, as I said, his goods are confiscated ; and in this way some of those to whom he is indebted will be provided for."

Having accomplished his purpose of getting the endorsement of the English Half-breeds to his Provisional Government, Riel was not in a hurry to keep his promise with regard to releasing the prisoners, although a few of them were given their liberty. This delay, and the harsh measures adopted towards Dr. Schultz, made the people of the English Parishes begin to fear that Riel did not mean to keep faith with them, and that more oppressive measures might be adopted towards the remaining prisoners, many of whom were known to be suffering from scurvy and other diseases, caused by the fetid air of the crowded rooms in which they were penned, without fire, although the winter was very severe, and the ther mometer frequently ranged from twenty to thirty degrees below zero. The sufferings of these unfortunate men during

their confinement were most intense, and many of them contracted diseases from which they never fully recovered.* As time passed, without Riel fulfilling his promise to release the prisoners or any effort being made by the Commissioners to effect that purpose, a deep feeling of indignation pervaded the country, which culminated in the rising of about eighty men at Portage la Prairie, among whom were Thomas Scott and Charles Mair—both escaped prisoners—who came down to join a force raised by Dr. Schultz, with the object of releasing the prisoners by force. On the 15th February this force arrived at the parish of Kildonan, where they were joined by about six hundred men, under Dr. Schultz. The church, school, and manse of that parish being taken possession of, the leaders and principal men from each party met, and decided at daybreak to send a messenger to Riel, demanding the instant release of the prisoners, or to prepare for attack. This expedition of action was thought desirable, because the force, though large, was hurriedly raised and imperfectly armed, and a sudden dash, while their number and armament was unknown to the French, was thought the most likely to succeed. The despatch of the messenger was followed by the immediate release by Riel of the remainder of the prisoners, who were told to say that Riel was anxious for peace and good will; and now that he had released the

---

* To give some idea of how they were treated, we make some extracts from a letter which appeared in the Chatham *Banner* from Mr. G. D. McVicar, one of the prisoners taken in Dr. Schultz's house. He says:—"On arriving at Fort Garry we were received by volleys of musketry, and imprisoned in three rooms. In these rooms we were packed so close that we had to break the windows to keep from suffocation. In one there was a bed and table, and in that room the poor fellows found themselves in the morning in a position something like the following:—Seven on the bed, two under it, two under the table, and the remaining space literally packed with human beings. One man slept all night hanging on the bed-post. We were here fed on pemican and tea. * * * After this thirty-eight (among whom I was included) were removed to Fort Garry Jail, the worst indignity of all. The place is close, small, and unhealthy. A narrow hall and six cells, 6 x 9 feet, filthy in the extreme, and crawling with vermin. Here I remained until I escaped with four others, putting in existence as best we could."

prisoners, he trusted no further cause of difficulty would arise.

The principal object of the expedition being thus accomplished, its leaders and principal men again met, and Dr. Schultz and others urged that as it was clear that Riel was now disposed to accede to anything, the Hudson's Bay authorities should be called upon to do their duty, the British flag should be hoisted in Fort Garry, and that Fort made the seat of Government as before. To this some of the leaders offered the objections that the object of the rising was accomplished, and that to go further was useless, as it was plain to see that the Hudson's Bay authorities had all along acted with Riel, and that they would now act for themselves; and that Riel having released the prisoners, with many protestations of friendship, could now do nothing more than continue to eat the Hudson's Bay Company's pemican and drink their rum—a cost to that Company which was thought to serve them right. Messages were also received from Mr. Donald A. Smith, and others, advising the force to disperse, as their purpose was accomplished, and, accordingly, the force under Dr. Schultz departed to their homes to the northward, while the smaller party, under Major Boulton, prepared to return to Portage la Prairie. Though counselled to beware of treachery on Riel's part, they did not leave for home until the following morning, 17th, by which time Riel had received information that the larger party had gone home, and, as Captain Boulton incautiously took the road which led quite close to Fort Garry, Riel sent out a body of horsemen, under command of O'Donohue and Lépine, and captured the whole party.*

---

* The names of the captured parties were as follow :—

From Portage la Prairie.—Major Boulton, John McLean, Robert McBain, Wilder Bartlett, James McBain, Dan. Sissons, A. Murray, W. Farmer, Lawrence Smith, Charles McDonald, John Snitzer, H. Williams, Alex. McPherson, W. G. Bird, Alex McLean.

From High Bluff.—Thomas Scott, Joseph Paquin, George Sandison, W. Paquin,

Major Boulton was decoyed by Riel, who caused him to believe that he would be allowed to pass the Fort unmolested, but "gobbled up" the whole detachment as soon as he had it completely at his mercy.

It was during this "Rising at Kildonan" that the first blood was shed, and that not in a manner to cause any amount of ill-feeling, such as followed the subsequent cold-blooded murder of Scott. On the morning of the 16th, a young French Half-breed, named Parisien, who had been captured by the English and held as a spy, made an attempt to escape. Dashing at his guard, he wrested his double-barrelled gun from him and made for the river; just then Mr. John Hugh Sutherland, son of Mr. John Sutherland, happened to be riding up to see what was the cause of the gathering at Kildonan, and Parisien fired at him, probably more for the purpose of getting the horse to assist him in his escape than with an intention of killing him. The first shot took effect in the hand, and the horse rearing, threw young Sutherland to the ground, and while he was down Parisien fired the second shot, which took effect in the body, and caused a wound from which the unfortunate young man died about nine o'clock the same night. Parisien was pursued, re-captured, and would probably have been lynched on the spot had it not been for the interference of Major Boulton, but the lad was severely wounded and frost-bitten, and died not long after, is was said, from the effect of the injuries he then received.

J. Dillworth, W. Dillworth, R. Adams, J. Paquin, M. McLeod, Archibald McDonald, James Jock, James Sanderson.

From Headingly.—J. B. Morrison, W. Salter, Magnus Brown, N. Morrison, W. Sutherland, Robert Dennison, Joseph Smith, Charles Millan, Thomas Baxter, John Taylor, John McKay, Alex. Parker.

From Poplar Point.—George Wylde, D. Taylor, A. Taylor, Geo. Newcomb, H. Taylor.

From St. James' Parish.—Sergeant Powers, James Joy.

From Rivière Sale.—G. Parker.

In all, 48.

The immediate result of the "Rising at Kildonan" was unfortunate, for it only doubled the number of the prisoners, and caused a renewal, for a time, of the ill-feeling which had existed between the French and English parties. Mr. Smith, in his report, condemns it as very injudicious, and it is very certain that Riel cleverly turned it to his advantage to induce the English parishes to elect their delegates to the Council of the Provisional Government, which was to meet on 20th February; and this is how he did it. As soon as Major Boulton was safe within the walls of Fort Garry he was placed in irons, a "Court Martial" was held, he was found guilty of treason against the Provisional Government, and sentenced to be shot at noon on the next day, the eighteenth; "but, at the intercession of the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, Archdeacon McLean, and, in short, every influential man among the English, and I have been told also, at the earnest entreaty of the Catholic clergy, the execution was delayed till midnight of Saturday, the 19th. Further than this, Riel declared he could not—would not yield—except, indeed, Dr. Schultz should be captured in the meantime, in which case *he* would be shot instead of Boulton."* This was decidedly pleasant for Dr. Schultz, for whose capture, "dead or alive," Riel had some time previously offered a reward. Riel apparently kept his determination to have Major Boulton shot, up to ten o'clock on Saturday night, two hours before the execution was to have taken place, and Archdeacon McLean had spent nearly twenty-four hours with Major Boulton, administered the sacrament to him, and prepared him to meet his fate. At length Riel yielded to the entreaties of Mr. Smith, and agreed to spare Boulton's life and release the other prisoners immediately after the meeting of the Council, provided the English delegates were elected to attend it. Mr. Smith agreed to use his influence with the English portion of the community, and

* D. A. Smith's Report, page 6.

thus describes the compact with Riel, whereby the Canadian Commissioner became an electioneering agent for the Provisional Government. "I reasoned with him long and earnestly, until, at length, about ten o'clock, he yielded, and addressing me, apparently with much feeling said: 'Hitherto I have been deaf to all entreaties, and, in now granting you this man's life,' or words to that effect, 'may I ask you a favor?' 'Anything,' I replied, 'that in honor I can do.' He continued: 'Canada has disunited us: will you use your influence to re-unite us? You can do so, and, without this, it must be war—bloody, civil war!' I answered that, as I had said on first coming to the country, I would now repeat—that 'I would give my whole heart to effect a peaceful union of the country with Canada.' 'We want only our just rights as British subjects,' he said, 'and we want the English to join us simply to obtain these' 'Then,' I remarked, 'I shall at once see them, and induce them to go on with the election of delegates for that purpose;' and he replied: 'If you can do this, war will be avoided—not only the lives, but the liberty of all the prisoners will be secured, for, on your success depends the lives of all the Canadians in the country.' He immediately proceeded to the prison, and intimated to Archdeacon McLean that he had been induced by me to spare Captain Boulton's life, and had further promised to me that immediately on the meeting of the Council, shortly to be elected, the whole of the prisoners would be released, requesting the Archdeacon at the same time, to explain these circumstances to Captain Boulton and the other prisoners."

The news of the capture of the Portage party quickly spread, and a meeting was held in St. Andrew's parish, whence most of the forces under Dr. Schultz had come, at which the proposition was made to go at once and release Boulton and his party by force. Before any definite action was taken Mr. Donald A. Smith arrived to say that if the people submitted and elected the English portion of the Provisional

Government Council, Boulton's life would be spared, and the prisoners released. Mr. Smith, in his character of Canadian Commissioner, strongly urged this course, and ultimately the meeting adopted it, and the delegates to the Council were subsequently elected. At this same meeting Dr. Schultz was requested to proceed to Canada, if he could, and represent to the people there the real state of affairs, and the coercion which had been used to make them have anything to do with the Provisional Government. As all the roads leading to Minnesota were jealously guarded by Riel, Dr. Schultz was compelled to attempt to reach the head of Lake Superior by traversing the little known country between the head of Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior. Fortunately he had as companion an English Half-breed named Joseph Monkman, who had been commissioned by the Hon. Mr. Macdougall to see the bands of Indians east of the Red River, and read to them his instructions which thanked them for abstaining from any participation in Riel's movement, and assured them that though he was not in power, the opening of Spring would see the Queen's power reinstated again. Dr. Schultz left the mouth of the Red River with this faithful and intelligent guide on the 21st February, and, to elude the parties on snow-shoes which were sent by Riel to intercept him, struck across the frozen end of lake Winnipeg to the mouth of the river of that name, where, alternately following the course of that stream, or deviating to some distance, they reached its head waters. From here they struck across over Whitefish Bay, on the Lake of the Woods, to an arm of Rainy Lake whence they turned more eastward, following Rainy Lake, and then to the Southwest, over the then unfrequented and unknown country of Northern Minnesota to the head of Lake Superior. Where Indian Camps could be found they were visited, and Riel and Queen's authority gravely and sensibly discussed. In not one case had the loyalty of the Indians been affected, and they all seemed to feel that the Great Mother's arm was long and strong, and

that Riel and his Government would, to use their own expression, "Pass away like the mist before the sun." Though the travellers had little to give them in return, they invariably shared their own scanty supply, and often gave a guide from camp to camp. Over weary miles of snow-covered lakes; over the water-shed between Rainy Lake and the Lakes of the Laurentian Chain; over the height of land between Rainy Lake and Lake Superior; through pine forests and juniper swamps, these travellers made their way, turning aside only where wind-fallen timber made their course impossible. Often saved from starvation by the woodcraft of Monkman, their course guided by the compass, or by views taken from the top of some stately Norway pine, they found themselves, after twenty-four weary days of travel, in sight of the blue, unfrozen waters of Lake Superior. They had struck the Lake not far from its head, and in a few hours presented themselves to the astonished gaze of the people of the then embryo village of Duluth, gaunt with hunger, worn with fatigue, their clothes in tatters, and their eyes blinded with the glare of the glittering sun of March. There they heard for the first time of the terrible event which had occurred since their leaving; that, while Riel had released Major Boulton when the English sent their delegates to his Council, yet he held the others with even a tighter grip, and that, he had, for some fancied insult, placed Thomas Scott, ironed hand and foot in the prison from which Dr. Schultz escaped, and, on the fourth of March, led him out to a death as horrible, perhaps, as was ever suffered on this Continent.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DARK CRIME OF THE REBELLION. THE MURDER OF THOMAS SCOTT.—THE MOCK "COURT MARTIAL." ITS SECRETARY'S ACCOUNT OF IT.—MR. SMITH'S ACCOUNT OF HIS EFFORTS TO SAVE SCOTT'S LIFE.—REV. GEORGE YOUNG'S ACCOUNT OF HOW SCOTT WAS BUTCHERED—MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE OF THE BODY.—THE REIGN OF TERROR.

We come now to the one dark crime, the one foul murder which disfigures the record of the Red River Rebellion, and hands down the name of Louis Riel to posterity as that of a cowardly assassin, who wreaked his private spite and vengeance on a helpless prisoner, whom he had illegally deprived of his liberty. The murder of Thomas Scott was a cool, calm, deliberate assassination without even the shadow of the excuse of expediency to palliate its heinousness, and it is a poor compliment to our system of administering law, that the perpetrators of this crime should be at liberty to-day. For the other illegal acts which he committed, Riel had some slight show of justification, inasmuch as he and his followers claimed that Canada had bought the people of Red River like so many sheep, without consulting them in any way or guaranteeing them protection for their lives, liberty and property; and the amnesty which was subsequently granted by the Imperial Government for these offences, was a tardy acknowledgment that "some one had blundered" in negotiating the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company's rights in the North-West without consulting in any way the inhabitants of that country; but, for this foul murder of Scott, there is no excuse, no palliation, no justification; it was simply a wanton, wilful exercise of despotic power, prompted by a spirit of personal revenge and a desire to strike

terror into the hearts of those loyal people in the settlement, who still doubted Riel's authority to rule, in spite of his "Provisional Government." It must, in fairness and justice, be admitted that a large portion of the storm of wrath and indignation which swept over the Province of Ontario at the perpetration of this crowning crime of the rebellion, owed its origin to the fact that Scott was a Protestant and an Orangeman, while Riel was a Catholic, and his chief adviser O'Donohue, an avowed Fenian; but, although party-political and religious feeling had something to do with the excitement, still there was a very general thrill of honest indignation at the cold blooded murder of a man whose only crime was that he was loyal to his Queen and country and would not acknowledge the authority of an usurper.

Although the ruse of Riel in sparing the life of Major Boulton on the condition that the English parishes returned delegates to the Provisional Government, had been successful, and the efforts and influence of Commissioner Smith had the effect of getting delegates elected, still Riel felt that the English element did not give him a hearty and cordial support, and finding that he was unable to "rule by love" he seems to have determined to "rule by fear." From the time of the first arrests he had been in the habit of threatening to execute some of the prisoners, unless they took the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government; and after the rising at Kildonan he seems to have made up his mind that "an example must be made" to deter the English from any further attempts to dispute his authority. Having spared Major Boulton he cast about for a suitable victim, and soon found one in the person of Thomas Scott, a young Canadian who had taken part in the defence of Dr. Schultz's house, and been captured at that time but made his escape, and was again made prisoner when Major Boulton's party was taken on its return from Kildonan. On neither occasion was Scott taken "in arms." Scott was one of the Canadians

in Dr. Schultz's house, but he did not surrender with them; for when Riel's troops surrounded the house on the evening before the surrender, Scott and Hallett went up to the Fort, unarmed, to ask Riel to allow the women and children, who were suffering considerable hardships, to be removed from the house. Instead of granting the request Riel arrested the messengers and put them in prison, from which Scott subsequently escaped, never having taken any oath to the Provisional Government. On the second occasion of his arrest,—on the return of the Portage party from Kildonan—all the arms were stowed away in the bottom of the sleigh, so that none of the party could be said to be "in arms," for although they had arms with them they were not available for use. Riel owed Scott a grudge because the latter had once put him out of a saloon in Winnipeg, when Riel was drunk and making some insulting remarks, and also because he was one of a party which stopped at the house of one Coutu, which Riel was known to be in the habit of frequenting, and enquired for him, on the night that the Portage party came down to Kildonan. Besides this Scott was known to be enthusiastically loyal and not only refused himself to recognize Riel's assumed authority, but encouraged others to do so also, therefore he was a fit subject for Riel to wreak his vengeance on. Having determined on his victim Riel ordered a "Court Martial" to try Scott, and he was accordingly tried on the evening of March third. The presiding officer of the Court was Adjutant-General Lépine, and the other members of the Court were G. Ritchot, André Nault, Elzéar Goulet, Elzéar Lajemoniére, Baptiste Lépine and Joseph Delorme. At this so called trial, Riel was witness, prosecutor and Judge; and the pretended evidence was taken before Scott was brought into the Court. The proceedings were in French, a language which Scott did not understand; and he was not allowed an opportunity to make any defence. He was accused of having taken up arms against the Provisional Government, after having

taken an oath not to do so,—which oath he never took—and also of striking one of the Captains. The story of the mock trial was so clearly told by Joseph Nolin, at the trial of Ambroise Lépine that we cannot do better than reproduce it here. He said: "I was Secretary of the Council; on the evening of the third of March the meeting was for the purpose of trying Scott, to examine what evil he had done; Scott was not present at the examination; there were some witnesses examined who saw what Scott had done; Riel was one, Ed. Turner was another, Joseph Delorme was another; I think there were others; these witnesses were examined by the Captains who composed the Council; while the witnesses were examined, Scott was not present; the witnesses were sworn by me; I do not remember what evidence was given; Scott was accused of having rebelled against the Provisional Government, and of having struck a Captain of the Guard; there was only one who made a speech, viz., Riel; I remember he spoke against Scott; after the evidence Scott was brought before the Council; Riel asked me to read to Scott what had passed before the Council; I did not read anything, as I had taken only notes; then Riel explained to Scott himself the evidence which had been given before the Council, in English; he was then condemned to die; Riel told Scott before he left the room that he must die; after Riel had explained the evidence to Scott, he asked him if he had anything to say; Scott said something; I do not know what; Riel did not ask him if he had any witnesses; no written accusation or charge was given to Scott; the taking and giving of evidence, the bringing in of Scott, the speech of Riel, his explanations to Scott, the decision of the Council and condemnation were all done within two or three hours; the Council commenced its sittings between seven and eight o'clock, and concluded their labors at one sitting; I took some notes in pencil of the proceedings; the notes in pencil I refer to were notes of the evidence; the next day I tran-

scribed these notes ; I gave them to the Adjutant-General ; the first motion for death was moved by G. Richot, seconded by André Nault ; Goulet and Delorme voted yea, along with the mover and seconder ; Lajemonière voted that it would be better to exile him ; Baptiste Lépine voted nay ; Ambroise (the prisoner) said, 'The majority want his death, and he shall be put to death ;' Riel explained to Scott his sentence ; Riel asked Scott if he had no request to make, if he wanted to send for a minister ; I do not know what answer Scott made to Riel ; Riel said if he wanted a minister, if he was at the Stone Fort he would send for him ; Riel said he would take his shackles off, and would send him to his room ; he would have pen, ink and paper to write ; he told him the next day he would be shot ; Scott was then taken to his room ; Scott was handcuffed when taken before the Council."

Scott was at first incredulous when told by Riel that he was to be shot at ten o'clock on the following morning ; but, finding that Riel was in earnest, he sent for the Rev. Geo. Young, the Methodist Minister at Winnipeg, who had frequently visited the prisoners in the jail, and that gentleman, together with Commissioner Smith and others, endeavored to turn Riel from his foul plan, but without avail, the latter declaring boldly that Scott must die. Mr. Smith in his report says that he first heard of the intention to shoot Scott from the Rev. Mr. Young, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the fourth of March, and that he requested that gentleman to intercede with Riel while he did the same with Father Lestanc. That Mr. Young being unsuccessful, he saw Riel personally. The following is his own account of the interview : "Governor MacTavish was greatly shocked on being informed of Riel's purpose, and joined in reprobating it. Père Lestanc consented to accompany me, and we called on Riel. When we entered, he asked me, 'What news from Canada ?' The mail had arrived the preceding day, and I replied, 'Only the intelligence that Bishop Taché will be here very soon." I then mentioned

what I had heard regarding Scott, and before Riel answered, Père Lestanc interposed in French words, meaning 'Is there no *way of escape ?*' Riel replied to him, 'My Rev. Père, you know exactly how the matter stands;' then turning to me, he said, 'I will explain to you'—speaking at first in English, shortly after using the French, remarking to me—'You understand that language.' He said in substance that Scott had throughout been a most troublesome character, had been the ringleader in a rising against Mr. Snow, who had charge of the party employed by the Canadian Government during the preceding summer in road making; that he had risen against the 'Provisional Government' in December last, that his life was then spared; that he escaped, had again been taken in arms, and once more pardoned,—referring no doubt to the promise he had made to me that the lives and liberty of all the prisoners were secured—but that he was incorrigible, and quite incapable of appreciating the clemency with which he had been treated; that he was rough and abusive to the guards, and insulting to him, Mr. Riel; that his example had been productive of the very worst effects on the other prisoners, who had become insubordinate to such an extent that it was difficult to withhold the guards from retaliating. He further said, 'I sat down with Scott as we are doing now, and asked him truthfully to tell me, as I would not use his statement against him, what he and the Portage party intended to have done with me had they succeeded in capturing me, when they surrounded Coutu's house,' to which he replied, 'We intended to keep you as a hostage for the safety of the prisoners.' I argued with Riel, and endeavoured to show that some of the circumstances he had mentioned, and especially the last, were very strong reasons to urge why Scott's life should not be sacrificed, and that, if as he represented, Scott was a rash, thoughtless man, whom none cared to have anything to do with, no evil need be apprehended from his example. I pointed out that one great merit claimed for the insurrection was that, so far, it

had been bloodless, except in one sad instance, which all were willing to look upon as an accident, and implored him not to stain it, to burden it with what would be considered a horrible crime. He exclaimed 'We must make Canada respect us.' I replied, 'She has every proper respect for the people of Red River, and this is shown in her having sent Commissioners to treat with them.' I told him I had seen the prisoners some time back when they commissioned me to say to their friends at the Portage, that they desired peace, and I offered to go to them again and reason with them, should that be necessary. On this he said, 'Look here, Mr. Smith, Mr. Scott, the representative, went to see the prisoners at my desire, and on asking them whom they would vote for as Councillor, if they were permitted a choice outside of their own body, Thos. Scott came forward and said, 'My boys, have nothing to do with those—— Americans.' And when I remarked 'This is really a most trifling affair, and ought not to have been repeated,' he said 'Do not attempt to prejudice us against the Americans, for although we have not been with them—they are with us, and have been better friends to us than the Canadians.' Much more was said on both sides, but argument, entreaty, and protest alike failed to draw him from his purpose and he closed by saying, 'I have done two good things since I have commenced: I have spared Boulton's life at your instance, and I do not regret it, for he is a fine fellow; I pardoned Gaddy, and he showed his gratitude by escaping out of the bastion, but I don't grudge him his miserable life, and now I shall shoot Scott.' Lépine, the Adjutant-General, who was President of the Council of Seven, which tried Scott,—and five of whom, Riel told me, 'with the tears streaming from their eyes, condemned him as worthy of death,' a sentence which he had confirmed—now entered, and in answer to Riel, said 'He must die.' Riel then requested the Rev. Père Lestanc to put the people on their knees for prayer as it might do good to the condemned man's soul. Referring to Père Lestanc

and making a final appeal, unnecessary here to repeat, I retired."

Finding that entreaty was in vain, the Rev. Mr. Young applied himself to preparing the mind of the unfortunate man to meet his terrible fate. He spent the time with Scott, being engaged in constant prayer and religious conversation. Shortly after midday, on the fourth of March, Scott was summoned to execution. He was calm and prepared to die. He requested time to bid his fellow-prisoners farewell. This was granted him, and he took final leave of those who had shared in his captivity. Being bound, he was conducted outside of Fort Garry, and made to kneel in the snow a short distance from the walls of the Fort, where he was shot, like a dog, by a party of six, under command of Adjutant-General Lépine, the whole party, it is said on good authority, being drunk at the time. Scott's last words were, "I am ready," and immediately after, Lépine gave the signal, and the unfortunate man fell, pierced by several bullets He uttered an exclamation as he fell, and, on approaching he body, it was found that life was not extinct. Some one in the crowd spoke up, saying, "Put him out of his misery," and one of the party, named Guilmette, discharged a revolver at his head. The body fell forward on the left side, and was soon after put into a rude box and taken into the Fort. There have been a good many sensational reports published as to the death of Scott, but the following evidence, given by the Rev. George Young at the trial of Ambroise Lépine, for the murder of Thomas Scott, tried at Winnipeg at the Court of Queen's Bench, His Honor Chief-Justice Wood presiding, tells the terrible story clearly and plainly without any sensational coloring. Being sworn, he said: "I reside at Winnipeg, and am a minister of the Methodist Church; in 1869 and 1870 I resided in the same place; I was in the habit of visiting Fort Garry generally once a week in the months of January, February and March, to see the prisoners; there were two parties of prisoners; the first

were taken at Dr. Schultz's building, and the other party off the prairie—the first party in December, and the other in February; I knew Thomas Scott; he was taken in both cases; these prisoners were in charge of Riel and certain officers under him, as I understood; I obtained permission from Riel first; for the first few weeks I invariably obtained permission whenever I went; subsequently I was not required to do this; I saw a number of others who were said to be in authority, acting as such; it was said that under Riel there was an Adjutant-General and several Captains; the prisoner (Lépine) held the office of Adjutant-General; I very often saw Lépine during my visits; he seemed to be in possession of power; Riel was first styled Secretary, and subsequently President; Mr. Bruce was first styled President; I do not remember having any conversation with Lépine prior to this date; I remember the 3rd of March; nothing occurred till the evening to my knowledge; on that evening I returned home from the country, arriving home about nine o'clock; soon after a messenger named Turner came from the Fort, informing me that I was required at the Fort; I asked by whom; he said by Riel; he had sent for me, as one of the prisoners had been sentenced to be shot, and the prisoner had asked me to be sent for; I went with him, and, on entering the Fort, I went at once to find Riel; I went to his room, and was told that he was at St. Boniface and would not be back till next morning; then I went to see Scott; I found him in the corner of a room in the building that had been used as a prison; he was alone and not in irons; the door was guarded by a number of armed men; when I visited him the Saturday before, he was in irons; this was on Tuesday evening; I asked him if it was in accordance with his wish that I was sent for; he told me it was; that he had been called before a Council of war that afternoon, and condemned to die; he objected to the trial, as it was conducted in a language he did not understand, but was told it made no difference, he was a bad man and had to die, and was

sentenced to be shot the next day, at 12 o'clock; he told me he thought they were quite bad enough to do it, but he doubted if they dare do it; I instructed him the proper course for both of us was to act upon the presumption that it would be done; the first matters attended to were to give me the address of his mother and brothers, and place in my hands his effects, all of which were forwarded to them after his death; having done that there was no further talk on the matter; all further discourse was relating to his spiritual welfare; I remained with him a considerable portion of the night, and left him for a time, as he wished to write a letter to his mother; he was furnished with pen and ink and paper for that purpose; early in the morning I thought to bring some things to bear in his behalf; first of all, I thought to see Mr. Ross, who was then called the Chief Justice under that Administration; he was not at home; I then proceeded to see Mr. Bannatyne and others for that purpose; they all seemed to be exceedingly surprised, and gave me an assurance that it would not take place; that it was only to frighten the people; I deemed it best to converse with Mr. Smith and told him of it; he had not heard of it before, and did not believe it possible to be done, and engaged to use all his influence to prevent it; a Roman Catholic priest named Lestanc came in while I was talking to him; I asked him if he had heard of the sentence; he said he had; I asked him if he would intercede with Mr. Riel for him; Mr. Smith suggested that I should go and see Mr. Riel myself, thinking I should succeed without further trouble; in case of failure to send him word, and he would proceed at once; I went and met Mr. Riel in his room, and asked him if it was true that Scott had been sentenced to be shot, and if it was their intention to carry it into effect; he said he was sentenced by a Council of war, all the members had concurred with one exception, and it would be carried out; I asked if Scott had been guilty of any great crime to deserve such a sentence, and expostulated with him, but to no effect: failing in that

I urged that the execution be postponed at least twenty-four hours; I wished more time; he had had but a few hours' notice, and could scarcely realize that he was so near death as that; upon the question of postponement he spoke of calling the Adjutant-General and discussing with him; in a few moments the Adjutant General—the prisoner here—entered the room; Riel stated my request, and I also spoke of it in their presence; Lépine, the Adjutant-General, very energetically shook his head, arose and left the room; Riel told me it was utterly useless to press the matter any further, so I returned to the prison and sent a message to Mr. Smith to notify him of my failure; Mr. Campbell was my messenger; I remained with Scott then until he was shot, engaged in religious exercises until we were interrupted by the parties entering the room to lead him out to be shot. Goulet and a man named Nault and others, four or possibly five in all, were the parties who led him out; when they entered the room Scott was very much excited, exclaiming, "This is horrible," "This is cold-blooded murder"; I advised him not to make such remarks, hoping still that the sentence would not be carried out; one proceeded at once to tie his hands behind his back; the others put a cloth around his head; that was used to blindfold him—a piece of white cotton; they put it over his forehead; until he went out he was not shackled; I requested them to retire for a few minutes, and they yielded to my request; I then engaged in prayer with him; when they came in, he requested permission to say "good-bye" to the boys, as he called them, and they granted that request also; in passing out, he went to each door where the prisoners were, and bade them "good-bye"; Riel excitedly complained as regarded the delay (vociferating wildly) in the matter; I explained to him that I had been the cause of the delay; he spoke in French; we passed down the stairs, down which I assisted him, as I was afraid he would fall, his arms being tied, and we were directed to the place; I did not pay any attention to who directed us, I was too much occupied; he

passed through the gate; the sleigh-track at the time was near the walk; we were halted at some little distance from the gate on the sleigh-track; as I supposed that this would be the place of execution, I had prayers with him there; after prayers he asked me to draw the blindfold over his eyes, and if he should remain on his knees or stand up; I told him it would be better to remain on his knees, and I withdrew from him after drawing the blindfold as he had asked me; just then I met face to face two persons, whom I asked to interfere—one was Goulet and the other was O'Donohue; I knew they both spoke English; Goulet said his time had come, and he must die; O'Donohue said it had gone very far, but did nothing to prevent it; during the time of this conversation they removed Mr. Scott from that point a short distance east, and in this place he was shot; the firing party consisted of six persons; when they were about to fire upon him I turned away, not witnessing the act; immediately after firing, heard his voice, and returned; he had fallen forward, the body lying partly on its side; there was some indication of life—a slight twitching of the shoulder; some one said "put him out of his misery," when one of the party took a revolver out of the pocket of another of the party, and put it to his head and fired it; I then, supposing the man to be dead, entered the Fort; before and after the firing of the pistol I observed that Scott's coat had been pierced; I took it that the bullets had passed through his chest and out of his shoulder; passing within the gate I met Riel; I asked for the body, that I might get it interred; at first he consented, but very soon recalled that consent; I met Goulet, and he said I had better get a sleigh; I said I should be glad to do so if I should be allowed; at that time the body was in the rough box or coffin; Nault said he objected; I then came to town and tried to use some parties' influence to get the body delivered up to them; I was told that if I would get the Bishop of Rupert's Land to guarantee that it would be buried

quietly and without any demonstration, we should have it ; accordingly, next morning the Bishop and myself waited on Riel for that purpose ; he told us he was very sorry to disappoint us, but the Adjutant-General, who was responsible for this case, had instructed it to be interred in the walls of the Fort, as he had a right to dispose of the body ; after the Bishop had left I importuned Mr. Riel to give me the body, as I wished to write to Scott's mother that day and inform her of the interment of her son's body, as it would be some little comfort for her to know that her son's body received Christain interment ; the answer was, as before, he could not interfere with the case ; he seemed to be very much displeased with the remark that he had a mother left to mourn over him." In reply to His Lordship : "I have no personal knowledge who were Riel's Council ; Nolin, I knew, was Secretary for Mr. Lépine ; I have obtained passes from him from time to time." In reply to Mr. Cornish : "I should think the firing party distant about twenty or thirty feet ; it did not so impress me at the time as being as far as across the hall ; I do not recollect who commanded the firing party ; I noticed a great deal of blood after the firing on the snow, and I heard his voice shout instantly after the firing, but did not recognise any words ; there were two sounds, one like words, and the other like a moan ; this was previous to the discharge of the pistol-shot ; after this the box was closed ; I have no doubt at all of his death."

Riel's vengeance against Scott was not satisfied with the taking of his life, but extended beyond the grave, and not only did he refuse to give up the body to the Rev Mr. Young for interment, but it is doubtful whether it was ever interred at all, and the final disposition of the body remains a mystery to this day. After the firing the Rev. Mr. Young asked Riel for the body and he at first consented to give it to him, but afterwards refused, saying that it belonged to the Adjutant-General and would be buried in the Fort. A hole was dug near the house of Dr. Cowan and

a box, supposed to contain the body, deposited in it ; but after the arrival of Governor Archibald, the Rev. Mr. Young obtained permission to have the supposed grave opened in order that the bones might be sent to Scott's friends for interment ; he found the box, but there were no remains inside it, and the inference is that the body was taken out of the box after it had been conveyed to the bastion and sunk in the river, as was stated by Goulet to John Bruce, and as was currently reported both at the time and after. Certain it is that the body has never been found, and poor Scott's friends have not even the melancholy satisfactian of knowing where his murdered remains lay, and will, probably, ever remain in ignorance of their whereabouts, unless the waters of the Red River or Assiniboine should some day cast them up. It may be well to note here that in January, 1873, Riel and Lépine addressed a letter to Governor Morris, of Manitoba, giving their version of the troubles of 1869–70, in which the only reference made to this brutal murder of Scott was as follows : " The Indians of the entire country—those below Fort de Pierre and those at the Portage, who were apparently the most excited—seemed ready to threaten the country with one of their attacks. Even the prisoners who were kept at Fort Garry, having had wind of these plottings outside, and being encouraged by them, were hurried on to acts of extreme violence. Many of them, notably Mr. McLeod and T. Scott, beat their prison gates, and insulted, and went so far as to strike their guards, inviting their fellow-prisoners also to insult them. Seeing then that a punishment, long deserved and terrible, could alone restrain these excited men, and finding ourselves compelled to avert evils with which we were threatened by the inhabitants of the Portage conspiring with Indians—in a word to secure the triumph of peace and order which it was our duty to establish throughout the settlement, we had recourse to the full authority of Government." That was all they had to offer in excuse or extenuation of this cowardly and wanton murder.

The brutal murder of Scott had, to some extent, the effect desired by Riel; the English Half-breeds seem to have become convinced that it would be useless to have recourse to force unless the Imperial or Dominion authorities sent a body of troops to restore order; and those Canadians who had not already left the settlement proceeded to do so with as little delay as possible. The Commissioners appear to have become convinced that after this act of wanton violence, their occupation as peace negotiators was gone, and Mr. Smith says in his report: "After this date I held no communication whatsoever with Riel, except in reference to getting away from the country, which I was not allowed to leave without a pass. I felt that under the circumstances it was not desirable that I should remain longer at Red River, but it was not until late in the night of the 18th that Riel gave permission for my departure." Every one who could get away seemed to think the settlement a good place to get out of, and those who were obliged to remain were compelled *per force* to give a sullen and dissatisfied consent to the Provisional Government, feeling themselves powerless to resist Riel and his armed followers. The lives of the whole settlement were in one man's hands, for although Riel nominally had a Council, he ruled despotically, and grave fears were entertained that he would wreak his vengeance on more of the unfortunate prisoners—indeed it was pretty generally understood that other executions were to follow that of Scott, and probably would have, but for the arrival of Bishop Taché. During this reign of terror Riel continued to "fare sumptuously every day" on the plundered stores of the Hudson's Bay Company, and other goods which had been "confiscated" by his orders, and drunkenness and debauchery prevailed amongst the "soldiers" in possession of the Fort.

CHAPTER XX.

BISHOP TACHÉ'S MISSION—A SERIES OF MISTAKES—MEETING OF THE "PROVISIONAL" PARLIAMENT—THE DELEGATES LEAVE FOR OTTAWA—HOISTING THE UNION JACK—REVIEW OF BISHOP TACHÉ'S ACTION IN PROMISING A GENERAL AMNESTY.

We now turn to the mission of Bishop Taché, who, it will be remembered, had consented by telegraph, on the eighth of January, to return from Rome. The Bishop made his way as speedily as possible to Ottawa, where he received instructions from the Government as to the nature and extent of his mission. These instructions may be briefly summarized as being to assure the Half-breeds of the kindly intentions of the Canadian Government, to invite delegates to Ottawa, and to offer amnesty for past offences, as promised in the Governor-General's proclamation of the sixth December.*

---

* The following letter from Sir John A. Macdonald clearly shows the intentions of the Government, and the powers with which it desired to clothe the Bishop:—

(Private.) DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
OTTAWA, CANADA, February 16th, 1870.

MY DEAR LORD,—Before you leave Ottawa on your mission of peace, I think it well to reduce to writing the substance of the conversation I had the honor to have with you this morning.

I mark this letter "private," in order that it may not be made a public document, to be called for by Parliament prematurely; but you are quite at liberty to use it in such a manner as you may think most advantageous.

I hope that ere you arrive at Fort Garry, the insurgents, after the explanations that have been entered into by Messrs. Thibault, De Salaberry and Smith, wil have laid down their arms, and allowed Governor MacTavish to resume the administration of public affairs. In such case, by the Act of the Imperial Parliament of last session, all the public functionaries will still remain in power, and the Council of Assiniboia will be restored to their former position.

Will you be kind enough to make full explanation to the Council on behalf of the Canadian Government as to the feelings which animate, not only the Governor General, but the whole Government, with respect to the mode of dealing with

His Lordship left Ottawa on the sixteenth of February, and arrived at St. Paul on the twenty-third, where he received a copy of the Bill of Rights, pass by the Convention at Fort

---

the North-West. We have fully explained to you, and desire you to assure the Council authoritatively, that it is the intention of Canada to grant to the people of the North-West the same free institutions which they themselves enjoy.

Had not these unfortunate events occurred, the Canadian Government had hoped, long ere this, to have received a report from the Council through Mr. Macdougall, as to the best means of speedily organizing the Government with representative institutions.

I hope that they will be able immediately to take up that subject, and to consider and report, without delay, on the general policy that should immediately be adopted.

It is obvious that the most inexpensive mode for the administration of affairs should at first be adopted. As the preliminary expense of organizing the Government after union with Canada, must in the first be defrayed from the Canadian Territory, there will be a natural objection in the Canadian Parliament to a large expenditure.

As it would be unwise to subject the territory to a recurrence of the humiliation already suffered by Governor MacTavish, you can inform him that if he organizes a local police, of twenty-five men or more, if absolutely necessary, that the expense will be defrayed by the Canadian Government.

You will be good enough to endeavor to find out Monkman, the person to whom, through Colonel Dennis, Mr. Macdougall gave instructions to communicate with the Salteaux Indians. He should be asked to surrender his letter, and informed that he ought not to proceed upon it. The Canadian Government will see that he is compensated for any expense that he has already incurred.

In case a delegation is appointed to proceed to Ottawa, you can assure them that they will be kindly received, and their suggestions fully considered. Their expenses coming here and returning, and while staying in Ottawa, will be defrayed by us.

You are authorized to state that the two years during which the present tariff shall remain undisturbed, will commence from 1st January, 1871, instead of last January, as first proposed.

Should the question arise as to the consumption of any stores or goods belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company by the insurgents, you are authorized to inform the leaders that if the Company's Government is restored, not only will there be a general amnesty granted, but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores, that the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm.

Wishing you a prosperous journey and happy results.

I beg to remain, with great respect,
Your very faithful servant,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

To the Right Reverend the Bishop of St. Boniface, Fort Garry.

Garry on the tenth. He telegraphed the Bill to Mr. Howe, and on the twenty-fifth, received the following reply: "Proposition in the main satisfactory, but let the delegation come here to settle terms." The Bishop then proceeded on his way and reached Fort Garry on the ninth of March, just five days after Scott had been murdered, and quickly set himself to work to restore peace in the settlement. Bishop Taché has been one of the best abused men in Canada for the part he took in endeavouring to quiet the disturbances in the North-West, and has been called "disloyal," "traitor," and other opprobrious names, because he recognized the Provisional Government, and entered into negotiations with Riel, after the murder of Scott. We do not desire to offer any excuse or apology for Bishop Taché; his conduct, on the whole, was peaceful in its tendency and happy in its results; but he seems to have become afflicted with that faculty for making mistakes, with the very best intentions, which in turn attacked almost every person connected with Red River affairs about this time. The Imperial and Dominion Governments both made mistakes in supposing that the people of Red River would allow themselves to be transferred from one Government to another, without being consulted in the matter; the French Half-breeds and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company made mistakes when they thought that a show of armed resistance would frighten Canada from her bargain, and induce her to let the Red River settlement severely alone; Mr. Macdougall made a mistake when he proclaimed himself Governor of the Territory, without waiting to see whether the Territory had been formally transferred to Canada or not; the Canadian Commissioners made a mistake when they tacitly acknowledged the "Provisional Government," without any authority from the Canadian Government for so doing; Riel made a mistake when he ordered the murder of Scott, without taking into account the sure retribution which must follow from both Imperial and Dominion authorities; and Bishop Taché

continued the series of mistakes by supposing that the murder of Scott did not affect the instructions he had received on leaving Ottawa, and that he was still empowered to promise a full and complete amnesty to the insurgents. That the Bishop was honest and earnest in his endeavours to restore peace, we think even his greatest enemies will admit, now that the lapse of time has cooled the heat of party and religious animosity which was very great at the moment; that in his anxiety to secure that tranquility he overstepped the bounds of his instructions, we believe even his warmest supporters will be willing now to allow.

The Council of the "Provisional Government," elected in accordance with the Resolution passed at the Convention which closed its sittings on 10th February, met for the first time on 9th March, but beyond a speech from "President" Riel nothing was done, as only eight French and nine English members were present, and the meeting adjourned until the 15th. On that day the "Legislature" re-assembled, and after notices of two motions had been given, Bishop Taché was introduced by Riel, who, in the course of his remarks, said :— "He felt extreme pleasure in presenting to his Lordship the first Legislative Assembly of this country, representing all classes of the people, and in the name of the people represented by the honorable members of this Legislative Assembly he bid his Lordship welcome and congratulations on his safe return amongst them." His Lordship, in reply, said that he did not come in an official capacity, but simply to use his exertions to unite all classes and restore peace and order. He intimated that the Canadian Government was very much dissatisfied with the actions of Mr. Macdougall—an announcement which was received with cheers—and was anxious to do justice to the people of the settlement. He concluded by asking for a release of the prisoners, a request which Riel granted, saying that some should be released that evening, and the remainder as speedily as possible. The House remained in session until the twenty-sixth of March, when it

was "Prorogued" until the twenty-sixth of April, at which time a committee was to report a "Constitution" for the Provisional Government. During the session, Acts were passed appointing a military force of fifty men, who were to be recruited for two months' service and receive £3 sterling per month and board; for indemnity to members, at the rate of $5 per day; for regulating the hay-cutting privilege, and for the administration of justice.

On the twenty-eighth of March, Riel addressed a letter to Governor MacTavish offering to give up the property of the Hudson's Bay Company and allow the resumption of business, on condition that certain amounts should be "advanced" to the Provisional Government in money and goods. The terms offered were finally agreed to, the bulk of the goods of the Company restored, and it was allowed to resume business. There have not been wanting those who claim that this whole transaction was a preconcerted plan between Riel and the Hudson's Bay Company officials, for the purpose of holding the Canadian Government responsible for all loss sustained by the Hudson's Bay Company, under the promise conveyed in Sir John A. Macdonald's letter to Bishop Taché, dated 16th February, 1870, and that this formality of releasing the property, making a forced loan, etc., was only adopted as a means whereby to furnish the Company with data on which to found the bill which was afterwards to be rendered to the Canadian Government. Be this as it may, the little scheme was not successful; for the condition contained in the letter, "if the Company's Government is restored," was not complied with, and it was so evident that the resident officers of the Company were implicated in the insurrection, that when a vote of $40,000 was asked from Parliament to compensate those who had suffered loss from the action of the Half-breeds, it was expressly stipulated that not one cent was to be paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, and that Corporation had to bear the loss of stores used, etc., by the insurgents during their ten months'

occupation of Fort Garry, the cost of which has been estimated at £50,000.

Judge Black, Rev. Mr. Richot and Alfred Scott, the delegates to the Canadian Government, left Fort Garry about 24th March and arrived in Ottawa on the 11th April. They bore with them commissions from the Provisional Government, and were officially recognized by the Secretary of State for the Provinces on 26th April. The arrest of two of the delegates on a charge of complicity in the murder of Scott, their release, and the success of their mission to Canada, will be dealt with in another chapter; we will for the present confine ourselves to the order of events as they occurred in the settlement. With the arrival of Bishop Taché and the departure of the delegates a change for the better began to take place. The prisoners were released, the Hudson's Bay Company resumed operations, and, although Riel still kept an armed guard in Fort Garry, and held high carnival there on the rum and provisions he had "borrowed" from the Hudson's Bay Company, a feeling of greater security began to pervade the community, especially after it was known that the Imperial and Dominion authorities would send a force of one thousand troops up in the Spring, and that the Civil authority would be peacefully inaugurated by having a military force sufficient to compel submission, if necessary--an extremity, however, for which the necessities daily grew less. Shortly after the arrival of Bishop Taché the Annexationist Editor of the *New Nation* left that paper and its publication was suspended for two weeks. On its re-appearance, under a new management, it became "dreadfully loyal," and continued so until the arrival of the troops.

On the twenty-second of April, at the earnest request of Bishop Taché, the "flag of the Provisional Government," more commonly known as the "Fenian Flag," was hauled down at Fort Garry and the Union Jack hoisted in its place. This led to a bitter altercation between Riel and O'Donohue, which nearly terminated in blows, and the upshot was that

a flag-pole which was standing in front of Dr. Schultz's house was taken down, removed to the side of the pole on which the Union Jack was hoisted and the Provisional flag also run up, so that the two flags flew side by side—only the pole to which the latter was attached being the taller of the two, it flew highest. Riel now became demonstratively loyal and had his band play "God save the Queen" every night. On the twenty-sixth of April the "Legislative Assembly" again met and remained in session until the ninth of May, their time being occupied in framing laws for the government of the Territory. On the Queen's Birthday an attempt was made to celebrate it; the students at St. Boniface College fired a *feu de joie*, races were held, and a grand concert was given in the evening, while many enthusiastic gentlemen got "truly loyal drunk," as the *New Nation* expressed it. On the seventeenth of June Father Richot returned from Ottawa, and, on the twenty-third, the third session of the Legislature was convened to hear his report of his conference with the Dominion Ministry. After his explanations—which included an assurance that amnesty would be proclaimed before the troops arrived—Mr. Schmidt offered the following Resolution: "That the Legislative Assembly of this country do now, in the name of the people, accept the Manitoba Act, and decide on entering the Dominion of Canada, on the terms proposed in the Confederation Act." The motion was unanimously adopted. After this the country remained quiet, confidence began to be restored and some arrivals from Canada occurred. The reign of terror was nearly over, and when the advance guard of Colonel Wolseley's troops arrived at Fort Garry on 24th August, there was not a vestige of opposition, Riel and his Council having ignominiously fled as soon as they heard the bugles of the 60th Rifles.

We now come to a very curious procedure on the part of Bishop Taché, namely, his promise in the name of the Canadian Government of complete amnesty to *all* who had been

concerned in the insurrection ;* and in justice to him, will

---

* The following is the Bishop's letter to the Secretary of State, acquainting him with what he had done :—

ST. BONIFACE,
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,
June 9th, 1870.

HON. JOSEPH HOWE,
Secretary of State for the Provinces,
Ottawa, Canada.

HONORABLE SIR,—I hasten to communicate to you, for the information of His Excellency in Council, a very important promise I have just made in the name of the Canadian Government. I feel all the responsibility I have incurred in taking such a step, while on another hand I am confident that His Excellency the Governor and his Privy Council will not judge with too much severity an act accomplished in order to avoid great misfortunes and secure the welfare of the country.

In my last despatch, dated on 28th May, I mentioned the satisfaction by the Liberal Bill erecting the Province of Manitoba. I also stated the uneasiness occasioned by the ignorance, whether or not a general and complete amnesty had been granted. The two last mails having brought no information on this subject, that feeling of uneasiness has increased to such a degree that it gives apprehension about the maintenance of peace in the country.

Some speak of raising a large force to meet and molest the coming troops at some difficult point on their way hither; and other plans, perhaps still more dangerous, are also afloat.

Fortunately, the Provisional Government has so far refused such resources, determined to await the arrival of the delegates. Owing to the good disposition of the Provisional Government, and in order to remove the dangers to which we are exposed, and which it would be too tedious to enumerate, I solemnly gave my word of honor and promise even in the name of the Canadian Government, that the troops are sent on a mission of peace; that all the irregularities of the past will be totally overlooked or forgiven; that nobody will be annoyed for having been either leader or member of the Provisional Government, or for having acted under its guidance. In a word, that a complete and entire amnesty (if not already bestowed) will surely be granted before the arrival of the troops, so that everyone may remain quiet, and induce others to do the same.

Personally, I felt no hesitation in giving such an assurance, because what I heard myself from the different members of the Cabinet at Ottawa, and what has been said by them in Parliament, has entirely convinced me that this promise of mine had been already issued, and that the delegates now on their way back will convey the most satisfactory information upon that subject.

Should my views, unfortunately, have deviated from the real tendency of the Government, I humbly beg that my promise will be considered as sacred.

It is the privilege of His Excellency to forgive, and if forgiveness be considered necessary, I earnestly pray for it.

I dare flatter myself with the idea that I have done something in favor of the Canadian cause in this country; and I can assure the Government of my willingness to contribute, as far as in my power, to its prosperity; but should I have pro-

give his own statement of his reasons for doing so, as given before the Select Committee on the causes of the difficulties in the North-West Territory. After reading the letter given below, he said: "I had the communication described in this letter on the day I wrote the letter, and, if you will allow me, I will explain to you the reason. Parties arrived from the United States, who had interviews with the leaders of the Provisional Government, and the parties told them that they could not rely upon what had been promised; that the assurances given would not be carried into execution; and

---

mised in vain, besides the heart-rending feeling I would personally experience, I would be publicly reputed a deceiver, or as having been wilfully deceived by the Canadian Government. An awful reaction would ensue, and who knows what would be the result.

If necessary, I therefore humbly lay my request before His Excellency. It would be very easy to have it largely subscribed to by respectable names, but such an undertaking would have given rise to excitement, and it is my constant endeavor to quell such a feeling rather than nourish it, as it is the greatest danger to be apprehended.

I am confident that, although this is a personal act, it will be considered the wish of the community at large, and probably granted.

It is rumored that Dr. Schultz is coming with a large party of supporters. I am sure that if such be the case, the Government has taken the necessary steps to prevent the collision, which would be the consequence of his return, perhaps with a desire to revenge the past, and renew the cause of by-gone troubles.

We are perfectly aware of his former conduct, and it is not difficult to foresee what he may be in future, if not checked by a proper authority.

I easily understand that at a distance my ideas may appear rather pressing, but allow me to say that here on the spot we are in a position to ascertain the dangers and difficulties which may naturally seem chimerical when viewed from abroad.

Experience has already proved that, unfortunately, our apprehensions are not always entirely groundless nor an effort of our imagination. So far it is universally considered as a wonder that nothing worse has happened. May the wisdom and liberality of the Government remove what seems to be the last difficulty.

I consider this document of such importance that I am forwarding it by a special messenger to Pembina, to secure its prompt delivery into your hands. No doubt you will be kind enough to answer me by the first mail.

I remain, with much respect, Honorable Sir,
Your humble servant,

ALEXANDER,
Bishop of St. Boniface.

that, in some way or another, the politicians of Canada, when they took possession of the country, would refuse to be guided by that promise. They told the leaders that the troops were on their way, and if they allowed them to enter the country, they would control the position, bring the leaders before the tribunals, try them and hang them. These representations created a very strong feeling among the leaders, and one or two of them came to my place and reported what they had heard. I repeated the assurances I had given in the name of His Excellency the Governor-General. They answered that this was of itself all right, but it was not from the Canadians. Now, the Canadian troops are on their way, they said, and they are under the control of Canada, and as we have given them cause for provocation, if we have not similar assurances from the Canadian Government, they may act in the manner represented to us. My statement before was, that I made the promise in the name of His Excellency the Governor-General, as representative of the Queen, but also added that such were the intentions of the Canadian Cabinet. They had so little faith in the Canadian authorities that I thought they would prefer to negotiate directly with the representative of the Sovereign. Indeed, I had this authority from the terms of the Proclamation, as well as from the letter addressed to me by His Excellency, in which he told me that he was directed by the Imperial Government to issue the Proclamation—and from the conversations I had, both with His Excellency and his Ministers, in which he and they told me that he was not acting in the name of the Canadian Government, but as Special Commissioner from the Imperial authorities. I was also furnished with a copy of the telegraphic message from England, upon which the Proclamation was based. The promise, made in the name of the Canadian Government on the ninth of June, differed in this respect—that it was made in the name of His Excellency, and, in my action, I was guided by Sir John's letter of 16th February, but, with the exception of its being made in the

name of the Canadian Government, the promise was itself exactly the same as I had made before. I thought it necessary to make it in the name of the Government of Canada, if the fears to which I have referred were to be dissipated; and I determined so to make it, because I had received information from Father Richot that the negotiations at Ottawa had been closed satisfactorily. As a portion of the negotiations was to get an entire amnesty, I thought the Canadian Government would not object to the promise being made in their name. The promise which I made on my arrival, in the name of the Governor-General, was equally extensive with that which I described in this letter of 9th June. All the difference is that the one was made in the name of the Government of Canada, whereas the other was made in the name of the Governor-General as the representative of the Queen. The answer of the Hon. Mr. Howe, dated 27th May, to my letters of the 3rd and 7th of the same month, in which I also saw plainly the promise of forgiveness, determined me that there was no risk in making the promise in the name of the authorities of Canada. I had also shown that answer to some of the leaders, and I relied upon it as affording me the basis for giving the promise named in my letter; for you will observe that Mr. Howe tendered me, in the name of His Excellency, not only his sympathy, but his warm acknowledgment of my services in the cause of peace and moderation."

It will be seen by the above that the Bishop took upon himself to promise in the name of the Dominion Government what the Dominion Government itself had not the power to grant; that is, amnesty for offences committed against the Imperial authority, in a part of the British possessions which did not, at the time the offences were committed, even form a part of the Dominion of Canada. The power of amnesty rested with the Imperial authorities, as was clearly explained to the delegates, during the debate on the Manitoba Bill and by the Hon. Mr. Howe in his answer to his Lordship's

letter of the ninth of June. But, even admitting that there was some ground for his Lordship's action furnished by Sir John A. Macdonald's letter of 16th February, still the condition on which amnesty was promised in that letter was not complied with, for it stated that amnesty would be granted " if the Company's government is restored," which was not done; neither could he make good his authority under Sir John Young's Proclamation of 6th of December, 1869, for the promise of amnesty was then made on the condition " in case of your immediate and peaceable dispersion," and the insurgents had neither submitted nor dispersed when the Bishop promised amnesty, nor did they show any disposition to do so; for, according to the Bishop's own statement, they were meditating further acts of violence by preparing to attack the expedition then on its way to Fort Garry. Besides, the intense feeling which had been raised in Ontario by the murder of Scott, and the strong debate which had taken place on the subject of amnesty during the discussion of the Manitoba Act in the House of Commons, were well known to his Lordship, and he was too astute a man not to see that the great outburst of popular feeling must have its weight with the Government, and that it could not advocate an amnesty until the excitement had had time to cool down. Indeed, in his own evidence before the Committee already referred to, he said; " The only reason for delaying the granting of the amnesty promised by the Proclamation of Sir John Young, that I am aware of, has been the excitement existing throughout the Dominion, and specially in the Province of Ontario. This is not merely my own opinion; it is also the opinion expressed to me by certain members of the late Government. The constant reply which I received when I spoke to them on the subject was, that the excitement was so great that the Government would not be sustained if the amnesty was given." Taking these facts into consideration, it is fair to infer that his Lordship, in his earnest desire to protect the people of the

Red River from the consequences of their conduct, and in the hope of establishing permanent peace in that country, knowingly exceeded the limits of his authority, acting under the impression that his promise would so far compromise the Government as to coerce the Ministers into using their influence with the Imperial authorities---which was really all they could do---to obtain the Proclamation of a full and complete amnesty, *before* the arrival of the troops, after which any wild idea of further resistance would be useless. He knew that the Cabinet was divided on the subject; that the Quebec Members, led by Sir Geo. E. Cartier, were in favour of an amnesty, and, indeed, that it was very well understood that an amnesty would be urged "by and by," when the popular excitement had abated; but he was too impatient to await the slow process of time and endeavoured by a *coup-d'état* to accomplish at once what it took years to partially gain. Shortly after giving his promise of amnesty, the Bishop left for Ottawa, "to make certain," as he said in his evidence, "to my own satisfaction, the promise made to the delegates, and report at Ottawa the satisfaction of the people."

CHAPTER XXI.

EXCITEMENT IN CANADA OVER SCOTT'S MURDER—FATHER RICHOT AND ALFRED SCOTT ARRESTED ON THEIR ARRIVAL IN OTTAWA—TRIED AND DISCHARGED—TERMS AGREED ON BY THE DELEGATES AND THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT—PASSAGE OF THE "MANITOBA ACT"—PROVISIONS OF THE ACT.

We have already referred to the anxiety which was felt throughout the Dominion, and especially in Ontario and Quebec, at the threatening aspect of affairs in the North-West at the beginning of the year, and of the feeling of relief which was experienced when it began to be apparent that a peaceful solution might be reached, and bloodshed avoided. Of course, there was much indignation at the summary arrest and imprisonment of British subjects by Riel, and his high-handed disregard of British authority; but as long as he committed no greater atrocities than he had already perpetrated, it was felt that the Commissioners who had been sent up might be able to restore order, or,failing that, a military expedition in the spring would soon remove all cause of uneasiness. This feeling continued to grow stronger until the end of March,when, on the twenty-fifth, a telegram from St. Paul announced that the news of the murder of Scott had been received there. The rumor was, at first, pretty generally discredited, and when, on the fourth of April, Mr. Mackenzie asked in the House if the Government had received any information of the murder, Dr. Tupper said that his son-in-law, Captain Cameron, had received a letter from Mr. Provencher, at Pembina, which did not confirm the report, and he doubted its correctness, because Riel had once before hidden a prisoner and reported that he was dead, for the purpose of frightening the other prisoners and the loyal

portion of the people. The truth of the report was, however, soon proved, and the arrival of Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch, Mr. Monkman and other refugees from Red River soon put an end to any doubt on the subject, and then a feeling of deep indignation and horror quickly spread throughout the community. An indignation meeting was held at Toronto on the sixth of April, at which Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch, and Messrs. J. J. Setter and Charles Mair, all late arrivals from Red River, were present, and delivered addresses, giving some account of the condition of the country. Resolutions were passed expressive of indignation at the murder of Scott, and calling on the Government to take prompt measures to restore law and order. A resolution was also passed condemning the policy of receiving any delegates from Riel. A similar meeting was held in Montreal, and very soon "indignation meetings" became the order of the day, and were held all over Ontario; but, unfortunately, they mostly fell into the hands of political wire-pullers, and were used more as a means of passing resolutions condemnatory of the Government than for the purpose of expressing popular feeling with regard to the lawless doings in the North-West. Popular feeling now ran very high, and the utmost anxiety was felt as to the probable fate of the other prisoners remaining in Riel's hands, which was not allayed until it was known that they had all been released, and that the delegates appointed by the Convention at Fort Garry had started on their way to Ottawa.

Much ill-feeling against the delegates was manifested, in advance of their arrival, by a portion of the press, which endeavoured to lash the Government over the backs of the delegates, and a great deal was written, and spoken at indignation meetings, against "treating with rebels," "receiving delegates from the murderer Riel," and so forth. News of the feeling raised in Canada by the intelligence of Scott's murder reached the delegates while they were still in the States, and Messrs. Scott and Richot, who were travelling

together with Colonel de Salaberry, determined not to venture to pass through Ontario, but proceeded to Ogdensburg, where they crossed to Prescott, and arrived in Ottawa on the eleventh of April. Judge Black, the third delegate, travelled alone and arrived a few days later. For some days before the arrival of Scott and Richot it had been rumored that they would be arrested at the instance of a brother of Thomas Scott, who resided in Toronto; and, on the twelfth of April, an affidavit was made by Hugh Scott, before Police Magistrate McNabb, at Toronto, charging Richot and Scott with being accessories to the murder of Thomas Scott, and a warrant issued for their arrest. This warrant was forwarded to Detective O'Neil, Ottawa, and about midnight on the thirteenth he arrested Alfred H. Scott, at the Albion Hotel, where he was staying. Application was made at the Bishop's Palace, where Father Richot was residing, but he could not be found, and was not arrested. At ten o'clock on the following morning, the fourteenth, Scott was taken before His Honor Judge Galt, in Chambers, on a writ of *habeas corpus*,and at the same time Father Richot entered the Court and gave himself up. The Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., appeared for the prisoners, and Mr. Lees, County Attorney, for the Crown. Counsel for the prisoners argued that the warrant was wholly irregular, that the Police Magistrate had no jurisdiction whatever as the alleged crime was not committed within his jurisdiction, and that on the face of the warrant itself it showed that the parties for whose arrest it was issued were then residing in Ottawa, where he had no authority. Mr. Lees said he had only received the case a few minutes before, and was not prepared to argue it then; it was, therefore, postponed until the next day, the prisoners being remanded, but not committed to gaol, they being allowed to go in charge of a detective. On the fifteenth they were again brought before Judge Galt and discharged, His Honor holding that the Police Magistrate of Toronto had no jurisdiction.

It being very evident, before the formal decision was given that the Toronto Police Magistrate had no jurisdiction, and that the prisoners would be discharged, Mr. Hugh Scott, who had come to Ottawa from Toronto, had made another affidavit before Mr. Police Magistrate O'Gara, of Ottawa, who had issued a warrant, on which Richot and Scott were re-arrested as soon as released.* On the sixteenth another application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made before Judge Galt, and the nineteenth fixed for hearing the argument, the prisoners being allowed to go under police surveillance as before. On that day the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., counsel for the prisoners, appeared in Chambers before Judge Galt, and said that he had no grounds on which to ask for the discharge of the prisoners, as it was clear that they could be indicted, and that the Police Magistrate had the right to issue a warrant and hold an examination. The writ was therefore discharged, and the prisoners re-committed for trial. The preliminary examination was commenced before Police Magistrate O'Gara on the 21st, and attracted a great deal of attention, the Court Room being crowded to excess with Members of Parliament, and everybody else who could squeeze in, and a large crowd assembling outside. The utmost order, however, prevailed. The Hon. John Hillyard Cameron appeared for the prisoners, Mr. Lees, County Attorney, for the Crown, and Mr. Boulton

---

* The following is a copy of the warrant, omitting formalities :—

Whereas,—Information has this day been laid before the undersigned, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, in and for the City of Ottawa, in the County of Carleton, for that there is reason to suspect some person or persons, to informant unknown, on the fourth of March last past, in land out of Canada, to wit, at Fort Garry, in that part of British North America known as the North-West, or Red River Territory, did feloniously, wilfully, and with malice aforethought, kill and murder one Thomas Scott; and that one Richot, known as Father Richot, and Alfred H. Scott, both of Fort Garry, aforesaid, but both being now in the City of Ottawa, in the County of Carleton, aforesaid, and both being British subjects, did advise and abet the said person or persons unknown, in the said murder and felony, contrary to the statutes in such case made and provided, upon these is this general warrant issued for their arrest."

for the private prosecution. Judge Black was the first witness examined, and testified to having known the prisoners in Fort Garry, and also being acquainted with the deceased (Thomas Scott); but he was not in Fort Garry on the day of the murder, and knew nothing at all about it except from hearsay. William Dreever deposed that he was one of the prisoners taken on the seventh of December, 1869, but he was released, and left the Territory on the twenty-second of February, 1870, a week before the shooting took place; had met Alfred Scott in Ottawa, and been told by him that he (Scott) was present at the shooting of Thomas Scott, but he did not say anything more; witness had seen Alfred Scott in Fort Garry, but did not remember ever having seen him in arms, nor did he know whether he had taken an active part with those who had risen against the Crown; knew Father Richot, but could not say, from his own knowledge, that he had taken any active part in the rebellion. Frederick Davis, detective officer, Ottawa: Had heard Alfred H. Scott tell the Mayor and others in the Albion Hotel, Ottawa, before his arrest, that he (Scott) had seen Thomas Scott taken out and shot; he had seen Scott put in his coffin, but not afterwards, and did not believe the story about his being alive in the coffin; was not one of the crowd who attended the shooting, but could not resist the temptation to follow and see it. Charles Garret, one of the prisoners taken at Dr. Schultz's, deposed, that he saw the shooting from the window of his house, which was about eight or nine hundred yards off; did not see either of the prisoners at the shooting; saw Alfred Scott several times with Riel, but never saw him take any part with the insurgents; saw Father Richot apparently taking an active part in directing the insurgents around Dr. Schultz's house, but could not say whether he was urging them on, or advising them to go away. Archibald Hamilton, who had also been a prisoner, had not seen the shooting, and had never seen either of the prisoners exercising any authority amongst the insurgents. Major

Boulton deposed that he was in prison at the time of the shooting, and did not see it; saw Alfred Scott while in prison, but never knew him exercise any authority; never saw Father Richot until after his release from prison. At this point Mr. Boulton, counsel for the private prosecution, moved for a demand that he may have time to secure the attendance of Dr. Schultz, Mr. Mair, Mr. Young (a son of Rev. George Young), and other witnesses who had lived in the settlement, and could prove that the prisoners had taken an active part in the insurrection. The Police Magistrate said they were not trying the prisoners on a charge of rebellion, but on a charge of complicity in a murder, and unless counsel could say that these witnesses could give any evidence on that point, he could not grant any delay. After a little legal sparring between counsel, Mr. Hugh Scott, brother of the deceased, was sworn, and deposed that a son of the Rev. George Young, who was then in Toronto, had told him that he was present at the shooting of Thomas Scott, and that both the prisoners took an active part aiding and abetting in that murder. Opposition to a delay was then withdrawn, and the case postponed until the twenty-third, the prisoners being admitted to bail in $2,000 each and two sureties of $1,000 each. On the case being called, on the twenty-third, Mr. Lees, County Attorney, said that, after consultation with the counsel for the private prosecution, they had determined to withdraw the charge. Hon. Mr. Cameron said he had no objection to the case being withdrawn ; but a charge had been made against his clients of complicity in a murder,—from all they had heard a murder of a very barbarous character,—and they must be unconditionally discharged, because there was no ground on which to proceed against them. What he would like to have understood was that they were discharged because there was no further evidence to be called. Mr. Lees said he had been informed by the counsel for the private prosecution that he did not wish to call any more

witnesses, and the Crown had no more to call. The Magistrate then ordered the prisoners discharged, as there was no case against them.

As soon as the delegates had been discharged by the Police Magistrate, they were formally recognised by the Secretary of State for the Provinces, Hon. Joseph Howe, who received and put them in official communication with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, with whom they had already had informal interviews. The demands of the insurgents were explained and an understanding arrived at which was mutually satisfactory at the time, but which gave rise to much question afterwards, for at least one of the delegates, Father Richot, stoutly maintained that a general amnesty was promised, while the Ministers as firmly declared that, although the subject was frequently mentioned, their invariable answer was that the power to grant an amnesty rested entirely with the Imperial Government, and that the Canadian Government had no power to grant it. Meanwhile Parliament had began to get impatient at the delay of the Government in bringing forward any measure with regard to the North-West, and at its reticence with regard to the military preparations known to be in progress, and several times the Premier was questioned on these subjects, but as often put the matter off, promising that the Government would give the House all necessary information as soon as possible. On the sixteenth of April, the report of Mr. D. A. Smith, Commissioner, was printed, but it contained very little information that was not already known through the newspapers, and from the refugees who had come to Canada; and the House had almost lost all patience when, on the second of May, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced the Manitoba Act. The Bill, as originally introduced, provided for the formation of a small Province, to be known as Manitoba, out of a portion of the North-West Territories, as soon as they should have been transferred to Canada; the boundaries, however, differing a little from those finally

adopted. It may be proper to remark here, that, as first proposed, the intention of the Ministry seems to have been to erect an almost exclusively French Province, as the large English-speaking settlement of Portage la Prairie, with about five hundred families, was not included in the limits of the Province; and Sir John A. Macdonald said that it was purposely omitted that it might form the nucleus of an "English Province." This question of nationality lay at the root of the whole trouble in the North-West. The French Half-breeds, led by the clergy, were well enough content to continue as they were with the English Half-breeds, but they dreaded an influx of English-speaking population from Ontario, as certain to put them in a minority and destroy their political importance; and in their efforts to "keep out the English," they were supported by their fellow-countrymen in Quebec, who would have been pleased enough to have a French Province created to the North-West of Ontario, shutting that Province out from further growth, but did not relish the spread of English emigration there, as it would impair their political influence in the House of Commons. Ontario, on the other hand, was determined that sectarianism should be kept out of the territory about to be acquired, and that all nationalities and all creeds should have equal rights, and no more. The French element in the Cabinet was very powerful, and it was, doubtless, out of deference to the opinions of that element that the Bill, as originally proposed, was so framed; but it was immediately felt that the House was not inclined to pass any such sectional act, and it was, therefore, amended, as we shall see.

On the introduction of the Bill, Mr. Mackenzie attacked the policy of the Government in withholding the purchase money, which it was said had been done that Great Britain should transfer the territory peacefully; but now it was found that an expedition was necessary, and the Imperial Government would only pay one quarter of the expense. He objected to the number of representatives in the Com-

mons allowed by the Bill, which was out of all proportion for so small and thinly peopled a Province. Hon. William Macdougall severely criticised the conduct of the Government in not paying over the purchase money at the time agreed on, which he held to have been the cause of all the subsequent trouble, as had it not been for the doubt of his authority he felt confident he would have been allowed to enter the territory after his proclamation of first of December. He then called attention to the curious fact that the boundaries were so arranged as to exclude Portage la Prairie, with some two thousand English population, while the line was taken fifteen minutes out of its direct course to embrace a settlement marked "Roman Catholic Mission." Sir John A. Macdonald said that Portage la Prairie was left out at the desire of the people there that it might form the nucleus of a British Province, but was met with some expressions of incredulity. The Bill was then read a first time On the third, Sir John asked the House to dispense with the evening sitting, on account of a Cabinet meeting; and on the fourth he announced that some alterations had been made in the boundaries, so that Portage la Prairie was included, and the quantity of land reserved for the Half-breeds increased from 1,200,000 acres to 1,400,000. The population was increased by the change to 17,000, and corresponding alterations were made in the money clauses. The existing Customs duties were to be continued for three years; and the waste lands vested in the Dominion Government instead of in the Local Government, as in the other Provinces.

The second reading of the Bill was to have taken place on the sixth, but just before the meeting of the House on that day Sir John A. Macdonald was taken suddenly and alarmingly ill in his office, and the second reading was postponed. On the following day, Sir John still continuing too ill to be moved from his office, the Bill was taken charge of by Sir George E. Cartier, and the second reading moved.

On the reading of the twenty-seventh clause, reserving

1,400,000 acres of land for the Half-breeds, Mr. Ferguson moved that the clause be struck out, as it was altogether too much for a population of 14,000 ; besides which, the twenty-sixth clause vested all the wild lands in the Dominion Government, and, therefore, the twenty-seventh clause was not necessary. Sir George E. Cartier, in defending the clause, said that the land policy had been the most difficult question to settle in framing the Bill. After some further discussion, Mr. Ferguson's motion was put and lost by a vote of 37 for, to 67 against.

On the motion to concur Hon. Mr. Macdougall, in the shape of an amendment, introduced an entirely new bill. The new bill was founded on that of the previous year, and provided a Territorial Government, to consist of a Lieutenant-Governor, a Council of from seven to fifteen members, and a Local Assembly, to be elected by all the male whites who had been residents of the country one month ; any person, one of whose parents was white, was to count as white. No land to be reserved, except for school purposes; any actual settler to have the right to take up a quarter section. The boundaries of the new Province to be the same as of Assinniboia, and its name "the District of Assinniboia." In support of his amendment he said, that he did not think the circumstances of the country would demand, for two or three years, such elaborate legislation as the Government Bill proposed. After some discusion the amendment was lost, only 11 voting for it, and 120 against. A number of other amendments were moved at various stages of the Bill, but were all rejected. On the 27th clause, reserving 1,400,000 acres for Half-breeds, being reached, Mr. Mackenzie moved that the following be substituted for it: "That whereas it is expedient to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands for the families of Half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted that the children of such Half-breeds resident in the Province shall be entitled to receive a grant of not more than 200 acres each, on attaining the age of eighteen

years, in such mode, and on such conditions, as the Governor in Council may from time to time designate." Sir George E. Cartier observed that there were over 10,000 children in the Province, which would require even a larger grant than that asked if the amendment was carried. Mr. Mackenzie's motion was then lost, 37 to 80. On the motion for the third reading, Mr. Mackenzie said he did not intend to offer any further opposition. The Opposition had endeavoured to amend the most objectionable features of the Bill, and having failed in that, they threw upon the Government the full responsibility of passing the measure as it stood. They had declined from first to last to accept any amendment, except the one forced on them by strong expression of the opinion of the House at the outset; but, believing that it was necessary to have some Bill pass, to have some form of Government established in the Territory, he did not ask for the Bill to pass on division. The Bill was then read a third time and passed.

The Bill, as passed, contains thirty-two clauses, and provides for the creation of the Province of Manitoba out of that portion of Rupert's land, &c., bounded by 96° west longitude, 50° 30' north latitude, 99° west longitude, and the boundary of the United States, to take effect from the day on which Her Majesty, by order in Council, shall annex Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to Canada. The provisions of the North America Act, 1867, not applied to other separate Provinces alone, are made applicable to Manitoba. It was to be represented in the Senate of the Dominion by two Members, till it has, by census, 50,000 people, then by three, when it has 75,000, by four. In the House of Commons by four Members, until next census; after that, according to the fifty-fifth section of the British North America Act. Voters same as for Legislative Assembly. Any voter might be elected Member. There was to be a Lieutenant Governor and an Executive Council, to consist of five persons, the seat of Government, till otherwise determined, to be at Fort

Garry. The Legislature consisted, besides the Lieutenant Governor, of a Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. The former to consist of seven Members for four years; afterwards twelve, to be appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Her Majesty's name, he also appointing the Speaker. Quorum, a majority. Speaker to have vote and casting vote. The Legislative Assembly to consist of twenty-four Members; the Lieutenant Governor to organize the districts within six months. A *bonâ fide* householder for one year before election, twenty-one years of age, and a British subject, might vote. For the first election, having been a householder at any time within the twelve months was sufficient. Must vote in division where he is resident at date of the writ. For first election the Lieutenant Governor might issue the writs to whomsoever he thought fit, and prescribe the forms, &c., of proceeding. Duration of assembly, four years. The right to legislate respecting education could not affect any existing right respecting denominational schools. An appeal to the Governor in Council was granted to the minority. In case proper legislation was not enacted, or decision of Governor in Council was not executed, the Canadian Parliament might make remedial laws. The English and French languages are to be used in the Legislature and Courts. Interest was to be allowed to the Province upon $472,000 per annum, it having no debt, and a subsidy of $30,000 per annum, and eighty cents per head, increasing till its population reaches 400,000. The Customs duties, then liable in Rupert's Land, were continued for three years. Such laws relating to Customs or Inland Revenue, as the Governor in Council might declare, should be applied to the Province. The ungranted lands were vested in the Crown for Dominion puposes. 1,400,000 acres were appropriated for the resident Half-breed families, the Lieutenant Governor to set apart and apportion them under regulations to be made by the Governor in Council. Grants in freehold by the Hudson's Bay Company

before eighth of March, 1869, were confirmed ; if in less than freehold might be converted to that at desire of the owner. Titles by occupancy under the Company, in parts where the Indian title had been extinguished, should, if required, be also converted by grant. Peaceable possession in such parts gave a right of pre-emption. These rights to be ascertained and adjusted by the Lieutenant Governor, under regulations to be made by the Governor in Council, who should also settle mode or form of grants. The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba was to be also Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territory, &c., and the Act of the previous session, except as herein altered, was extended to them.

CHAPTER XXII.

A Military Expedition to Red River determined on—The Terms on which the Expedition was sent—Preparations for the Expedition—The Militia Contingent.—How it was Drafted—Colonel Wolseley appointed to command the Expedition—The Stoppage of the "Chicora"—The Progress of the Troops from Prince Arthur's Landing to Red River—The arrival at Fort Garry—The Flight of Riel.

As soon as the Government became convinced that the Red River rebellion was likely to assume grave proportions, preparations for sending a force to the Settlement, if necessary, on the opening of navigation, were quietly pressed forward, and were in quite an advanced state before it was generally known that any preparations were being made at all, and long before it was positively decided that an expedition would be absolutely necessary. The news that Hon. Mr. Macdougall had been stopped at Pembina on 31st October, 1869, was telegraphed to Earl Granville on 23rd November; and on the 26th another telegram was sent from the Governor General saying that the Canadian Government declined to accept the transfer of the Territory until order was restored and peaceable possession given, and asking that the Proclamation of the transfer, which it had been agreed should be made on the first of December, should be postponed. After some little negotiation this was agreed to, and both the Imperial and Dominion Governments set themselves earnestly to work to restore order, as already related in a preceding chapter. Whilst endeavouring in every way, however, to peacefully settle the troubles by the negotiations of Commissioners, representations were made by the Dominion Government to the Imperial authorities that the interposition of the military

might be necessary, and, on the 5th March, 1870, Earl Granville telegraphed to Sir John Young as follows:—"Her Majesty's Government will give proposed military assistance, provided reasonable terms are granted Red River settlers, and provided your Government enable Her Majesty's Government to proclaim the transfer of the Territory simultaneously with the movement of the force." These terms were accepted, and Lieutenant-General Sir James Lindsay was sent out to take command of the forces. In order to facilitate the operations, and to obviate the delay which would necessarily arise if the arrangements between the two Governments were conducted by telegraph or despatch, Earl Granville commissioned Sir Clinton Murdoch, who was on his way to Washington, to consult with Sir John Young as to details, and thus save time; as it was determined that if the troops had to go to Red River they must be back in time to return to England before the winter set in, in accordance with the proposed withdrawal of the troops. In the instructions to Sir Clinton, Earl Granville said, "Troops should not be employed in forcing the Sovereignty of Canada on the population, should they refuse to admit it," and this instruction was thoroughly adhered to, so that it was only after arrangements had been very nearly completed with the Delegates, and there seemed to be every probability that Canadian authority would be quietly acknowledged, that final consent to the use of the Imperial troops was given.

On the same day (23rd March) that instructions were issued by Earl Granville to Sir Clinton Murdoch, a letter was addressed to the War Office by the Colonial Secretary, on the subject of the proposed expedition, in which the following paragraph occurs: "General Lindsay will consult Sir J. Young with regard to the selection of the force itself, and of the officer who is to command it, on whose firmness, prudence and judgment much may depend. The selection of the officer will be still more important if, as is possible, the Canadian Government should desire him to act as the first

Civil Lieutenant-Governor of the district." General Lindsay arrived in Canada on the 5th of April, and at once put himself in communication with the Governor-General, and the composition of the force was agreed on. At first it was proposed to send 200 to 250 regulars, and about 700 volunteers, the Dominion Government paying three-fourths of the expense; but, on the recommendation of General Lindsay, and with the consent of the British Government, the number of regulars was increased to 390, the Canadian Government paying the expense of all over 250. The increase was considered necessary, as it was determined to leave small garrisons at Thunder Bay and Fort Francis to guard the stores which would be kept at those places. On the 23rd April Earl Granville sent the following telegram to Sir John Young: "On the following conditions troops may advance:—

I. Rose to be authorised to pay £300,000 at once, and Her Majesty's Government to be at liberty to make transfer before the end of June.

II. Her Majesty's Government to pay expense of British troops only, not exceeding 250, and Canadian Government the rest, sending at least 500 trained men.

II. Canadian Government to accept decision of Her Majesty's Government on disputed points of the Settlers' Bill of Rights.

IV. Military arrangements to be to the satisfaction of General Lindsay."

On the fourth of May instructions were sent to Sir John Rose to pay over the £300,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company (which was done on the eleventh), and on the sixth a telegram was sent by Earl Granville to Sir John Young that the troops may proceed.

Meanwhile everything was being prepared for the intended expedition. Early in the winter instructions were given by the Department of Public Works to Mr. S. J. Dawson to get everything in readiness so that operations could be com-

menced as soon as navigation opened. It was decided that the route followed should be that formerly adopted by the North-West Company before its amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company, by way of Lake Superior, Lake Shebandowan and the lakes and rivers to Fort Garry. This route had not been used for traffic for a long while, but it had been carefully examined during the previous year by Mr. Dawson, with a view of opening communication with the North-West through Canadian territory, and a road from Fort William, on Thunder Bay, to Lake Shebandowan had been laid out and more than half completed, while, at the other end of the route, the Government surveyors under Mr. Snow had laid out a road from Winnipeg to the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, and this was, also, in course of construction. Early in January contracts for building one hundred boats, suitable for lake and river navigation, were given out to various boat-builders throughout Ontario and Quebec, and the work was pushed rapidly on during the winter. The boats varied in length from 24 to 33 feet, with a breadth of beam from 6 to 7½ feet, depth from 30 to 35 inches, and were capable of carrying from twelve to fifteen men and their outfits, and from 2½ to 4 tons of freight; and it being afterwards found that a greater number would be required, forty additional boats were ordered. Work on the Thunder Bay road was also pushed forward as much as the season and the nature of the locality would permit, and the bridges completed as far as possible. As it was feared that the insurgents might attempt to tamper with the Salteaux Indians, through whose territory the expedition would have to pass, a trusty agent was sent from Fort William to Fort Francis to endeavour to keep up friendly relations with that tribe. A large number of *voyageurs* were also engaged to manage and navigate the boats, and arrangements made for moving the force to Thunder Bay as soon as navigation should be open.

Grave apprehensions were entertained as to the practicabil-

ity of sending a large body of troops by the proposed route, which, for a distance of two hundred miles, had never been traversed by any vessel larger or stronger than a bark canoe; and the chief officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who were supposed to be well acquainted with the country, had declared it to be impracticable for their boats. So general was this opinion as to the character of the route by Lake Superior, and so firmly fixed had it become, that the Imperial Government on two occasions sent troops by way of Hudson's Bay to Fort Garry, as already mentioned in this history. This belief was not, however, shared by Colonel Crofton, who commanded the expedition of 1846, and in his testimony before a Parliamentary Committee in England, in 1857, he unhesitatingly pronounced in favor of the route from Fort William to Fort Garry in preference to the route from York Factory, saying that he had been over both, and he considered that it was far easier to take troops by the former than the latter. Mr. Dawson, also, was very confident as to the practicability of the route, and the result showed that he was quite correct in his assertion that troops could be taken in that way without any insurmountable difficulty. On the sixteenth of April an Order in Council was passed providing for the raising, arming and equipping of the militia force which was to form part of the expedition. This force, it was determined should consist of two battalions of 350 non-commissioned officers and men each, one to be taken from Ontario and one from Quebec. It was proposed to take volunteers from each of the seven Military Districts, the men all to rendezvous at Toronto, proceed thence by rail to Collingwood, and from that point embark for Thunder Bay by the steamers *Chicora* and *Algoma*, which had been chartered by the Government for that purpose. The men were furnished with a complete outfit and a free kit. The intention in having one battalion from each Province was, doubtless, that the French Canadian Catholics of Quebec might be equally represented with the English Protestants of Onta-

rio; but this design failed on account of the reluctance of the French Canadians to volunteer. The French Canadians were generally opposed to any expedition at all, and refused to join it from the fear that they might be called on to fight their *compatriots* in Red River. The French Canadian Members of the House, as a general thing, were opposed to an expedition, thinking it an unnecessary display of force for no purpose, as the French Half-breeds in the Settlement would offer no resistance to the authority of Canada if they were fairly treated; and the people of Quebec generally determined that, if they could not prevent the expedition, they would, at least, not take part in it; and so the Quebec battalion was very slow in forming, and had, at last, to be filled up with discharged men from the Royal Canadian Rifles and volunteers from Ontario.*

As early as the eleventh of March an Order in Council was passed authorizing the purchase of provisions for the proposed expedition, and Lieut.-Colonel Wiley, of the Militia

---

* The following return of drill, made by Assistant Brigade Major James F. Macleod, on 23rd June, 1870, gives the nationalty and religion of both battalions:—

Nationality.	1st Batt.	2nd Batt.
1. English	79	74
2. Irish	29	52
3. Scotch	32	21
4. Born in Canada of—		
(a.) English parents	55	61
(b.) Irish "	65	20
(c.) Scotch "	45	15
	165	96
5. Born of English-speaking Canadian parents	40	21
6. Born of French Canadian parents	3	77
7. Foreigners, but naturalized British subjects	3	3
8. British subjects, but of foreign parents	4	18
	355	362
Religion.		
1. Protestant	330	236
2. Roman Catholic	25	126
	355	362

Department, was entrusted with this duty, which he performed so well that by the twelfth of April he had made arrangements for having the waggons, horses, oxen, hay, &c., provided, and had made contracts for the supply of flour, pork and other articles needed for the expedition. As soon as it was settled that Imperial troops would form a portion of the expedition, if it went, Assistant Controller Irving was sent from England to take charge of the Control Department, and arrived in Canada on the fifteenth of April. On the twenty-second tenders for supplies were advertised for and contracts awarded on the second and third of May. On the eleventh of April, in his first communication to the Governor General, General Lindsay had suggested the name of Colonel Wolseley, Deputy Quarter-Master-General in British North America (now Major General Sir Garnet Wolseley, K.C.M.G.), as Commander of the Forces, which recommendation was accepted and Colonel Wolseley appointed. He left Montreal on the fourth of May, and went through to Collingwood to inspect the preparations for embarkation there, and to proceed to Thunder Bay, for which place some of the stores and provisions had already started.

Everything connected with the expedition was now being pushed forward with the utmost rapidity ; volunteers were being enrolled, equipped and drilled at Toronto ; stores and provisions were being collected as rapidly as possible at Collingwood, and on the 3rd of May the steamer *Algoma* left for Fort William with a cargo of stores and 140 *voyageurs* and workmen to go on with the road from Thunder Bay to Lake Shebandowan. It will be as well here to briefly sketch the route to be followed to reach Fort Garry from Toronto, the whole distance being about 1,150 miles. The first 94 miles from Toronto to Collingwood was to be done by rail ; from Collingwood to Fort William on Thunder Bay, Lake Superior, 534 miles, was by steamer ; from thence to Shebandowan Lake, 48 miles, by the road which Mr. Dawson had partly completed ; and from Lake Shebandowan, by way of

numerous lakes and rivers, and over forty-seven portages, a distance of about 470 miles, to Fort Garry. The task was a difficult one and could only be accomplished by pluck, perseverance and hard work. The most difficult portion of the route was the forty-eight miles intervening between Fort William and Lake Shebandowan, and it was here that the great delay to the expedition occurred. The Commander of the expedition tried to blame the Dominion Government for this delay, even going so far—anonymously—as to charge the Minister of Public Works (Hon. H. L. Langevin) with attempting to prevent the expedition by not having the road completed ; but Mr. J. S. Dawson, Superintendent of the road, and many others who accompanied the expedition, laid the blame on Colonel Wolseley, who would not carry out the programme as originally made out, but varied it by having the boats dragged up the Kaministiquia River instead of completing the road, and then having the boats taken over it by waggon to Shebandowan Lake.

Most of our readers are doubtless aware that Collingwood is situated on Lake Huron, and that Fort William is on Lake Superior, the two lakes being connected by the St. Mary River, which forms part of the boundary line between the State of Michigan and the Dominion. The river is navigable except in one place, where there is a canal, on the American side, two miles and a half long, and all vessels passing from one lake into the other have to go through this canal. On account of the unfriendly feeling existing between the United States and Great Britain, and the open sympathy shown by the former for the rebels in the North-West, it was anticipated that vessels carrying troops or munitions of war might be stopped at the Sault,—although the Americans had been allowed during their rebellion to transport troops as well as warlike material through our canals—and arrangements were partially made for a portage road opposite the canal, by which the troops could march across and meet the steamer at the other end of the rapid, she having, in the meanwhile, gone

through the canal. The first steamer to arrive, the *Algoma*, was allowed to pass through without question, and proceeded on her way to Fort William, but did not return to Collingwood, as it was thought most prudent to keep her on Lake Superior in the event of any trouble occurring at the canal. The wisdom of this arrangement was soon shown, for when the *Chicora* arrived at the Sault, on the eleventh of May, she was refused permission to pass through, and her stores, &c., landed on the British side of the river, where they had to be portaged about three miles and re-shipped for Fort William in the *Algoma*. This unfriendly act of the United States authorities caused considerable inconvenience and some delay, but could not materially check the progress of the expedition; the *voyageurs* and workmen brought up by the *Chicora* at once went to work to improve the portage road and build a small wharf for convenience in landing, and in a short time the goods were taken across. It had never been intended to attempt to take any troops, arms or ammunition through the canal, but only provisions, &c., and nothing else was on board at the time the *Chicora* was refused admittance.

On the fourteenth of May the first detachment of troops, consisting of Companies 1 and 4, Ontario Battalion, left Toronto for Collingwood, under command of Colonel Boulton, and, about 9 p.m. the same evening, embarked on the *Chicora* for Fort William. On arrival at the Sault the troops, stores, &c., were landed on the British side, and the *Chicora* taken over to the canal empty, but was again refused admittance. General Cook, who commanded the American troops stationed at the canal, was polite, but very decided in his refusal. He said to Colonel Boulton, "My instructions are absolute, nothing whatever connected with the Red River expedition can pass the canal. I must, therefore, absolutely refuse to let the *Chicora* pass through." The vessel, therefore, returned to Collingwood, and the troops under Colonel Boulton formed a camp at the Sault to

be on hand to assist in portaging stores, &c., from the *Chicora* to the *Algoma*. At the same time more vessels were chartered to compensate for the time lost at the portage, so that the passage of the troops, &c., from Collingwood to Fort William may be delayed as little as possible. As soon as it became known in Ottawa that the *Chicora* had been stopped on her first trip, Sir John Young laid the circumstances of the case before Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington, and he represented to the American Government that no attempt had been, or would be, made to pass troops or munitions of war through the canal, and that the expedition was purely one of peace, and that vessels ought not to be prevented from taking ordinary freight. On this representation the embargo was removed, and the *Chicora* and other vessels were afterwards allowed to pass through the canal without trouble, the troops being landed on the British side and marched across the portage. Considerable valuable time had been lost, however, and this was the first check to the progress of the expedition.

On the 8th of May the *Algoma* arrived at Fort William with a portion of Mr. Dawson's *voyageurs* and workmen, who went into camp about four miles from Fort William where the terminus of the road to Shebandowan was, and soon got to work on the road, fresh arrivals constant augmenting the number. On the 21st May Company G, of the 60th Rifles, left Collingwood in the *Chicora*, Colonel Wolseley and staff also going on the same trip. The Sault was reached on the 23rd, and the camp above Fort William on the 25th, this being the first detachment of soldiers to reach this point. Up to this time the camp had been designated as Government Landing, but Colonel Wolseley, on his arrival, gave it the more euphonious name of "Prince Arthur's Landing" as a compliment to the Duke of Connaught. From this date (26th May) to 21st June, the troops continued to be transported from Collingwood, the last Companies reaching Prince Arthur's Landing on the latter date.

During this month some progress had been made in getting a portion of the stores, &c., from Prince Arthur's Landing part of the way to Lake Shebandowan, but great difficulty had been experienced in getting the boats over the road. For the first few days the weather was fine. Two Companies of the 60th were sent forward to work on the road on the 28th May; the first line of waggons with supplies started for Kaministiquia Bridge, and some boats were also forwarded on waggons. So far, all was going well, but on the 4th of June it commenced to rain and rained nearly a week, and that entirely altered the complexion of affairs; portions of the road became so heavy as to be almost impassable; only light loads could be taken, and the horses began to show signs of distress, partly caused by ill-fitting collars, and partly from an insufficiency of food—they having been put on cavalry rations, which was not enough for them considering the heavy work they had to do. On the 16th June, out of a total of 129 horses 63 were sick, and about this number continued unfit for work for some time, although there diet was changed, and they were given as much as they could eat, and the services of a veterinary surgeon obtained.

The weather continued rainy and the road bad, and it was at this time that Colonel Wolseley determined to try to effect a passage for his boats by the Kaministiquia River. This river runs from Lake Shebandowan into Lake Superior, a distance, by its course, of over seventy miles, and falls over 800 feet—that being the difference in level of the waters of the two lakes. Some of the falls are very fine, one being about 120 feet high; and the river is full of rapids for the greater part of its length. It had always been considered as too wearing on boats to drag them up such a course, and the river was generally regarded as impassable; but Mr. McIntyre, Hudson's Bay officer at Fort William, persuaded Col. Wolseley that boats could be taken up the river, and that officer despatched Captain Young with six boats, and a number of *voyageurs* and soldiers to attempt the passage.

The boats were towed round from Prince Arthur's Landing to the mouth of the Kaministiquia early on the morning of the 4th June, and after eight days of incessant hard work, the party managed to force their way up the rapids, by means of poling, portaging and dragging the boats, and reached Matawin Bridge (about forty-five miles) on the twelfth. It having been demonstrated that boats could be sent up by this route, Colonel Wolseley ordered that all the boats remaining at Prince Arthur's Landing should be taken that way; accordingly 101 boats were so taken up between the 6th June and 6th July, a large number of *voyageurs* and troops being engaged in the work. Mr. Dawson energetically protested against taking the boats by this route, as it would knock them to pieces and render them unfit for the heavy work they had to undergo; but he was overruled and the boats were taken that way, and did get very much damaged so that a body of carpenters had to be sent forward to repair them as they reached Lake Shebandowan.

The delay of the expedition occurred between Thunder Bay and Lake Shebandowan, and was, according to Mr. Dawson, mostly caused by his *voyageurs* being taken off the road to drag the boats up the river, which they knew to be unnecessary, and many of them becoming disgusted and leaving. Colonel Wolseley, on the other hand, claims that the expedition would not have got through in time for the regular troops to return in the fall had it not been for the adoption of the water route; and that the Dominion Government was entirely to blame.

Towards the end of June it began to be feared that the expedition would have to be abandoned, so slow was the progress, and so small appeared the probability of the regular troops being able to return in time to embark for England before winter set in; but, on the 29th, General Lindsay visited Thunder Bay, and new energy seemed to be infused into the undertaking. On the 5th of July headquarters were removed to Matawin Bridge, where a large quantity of

stores was by this time collected, and the 16th was fixed as the date of the departure of the first brigade of boats from McNeill's Landing, Shebandowan Lake, the point of final departure. The work was hard, and rendered all the more so by the frequent rains,—it rained on twenty-three days between the 1st of June and the 16th of July—but the men performed it willingly and cheerfully, and were in excellent spirits at the idea of fairly starting, for, once on the lake, they knew that their progress would be more rapid, and their life more pleasent than it had been while engaged road-making and transporting stores The start took place at nine o'clock on the evening of the 16th of July.

After the first detachment had left the embarkation continued rapidly, day after day, until the 4th of August, when the last of the troops embarked, and only about one hundred and fifty *voyageurs* were left to take the reserve supplies to Fort Francis, and a company of the Quebec Battalion, which was to remain at Prince Arthur's Landing to guard a small redoubt which had been erected there for the protection of the stores left at this point. Two of the four seven-pounder guns were also left there. This company remained at Prince Arthur's Landing until the return of the regulars, when they also went back to Quebec. The whole number of men embarked at McNeill's Bay, according to the return of Deputy Commissary Meyer, was 1,431, of whom 92 were officers, 1,051 non-commissioned officers and men, 274 *voyageurs* and 14 guides. As the region through which the expedition was to pass was almost wholly destitute of anything in the way of food (except fish), and there was no means of obtaining supplies of any kind after the expedition left, everything that was needed, or that it was thought might be needed, had to be taken with it, and Colonel Wolseley admits that this was done for all his disposition to find fault with the Dominion Government, saying: "Every probable, indeed almost every possible, contingency had to be thought of and provided for; and it may be confidently asserted that no

expedition has ever started more thoroughly complete or better prepared for its work."

It is needless to follow the expedition in detail through its journey by water and land to Fort Garry—suffice it to say that the route followed was not more arduous than many other canoe or boat routes are, and that the men, although hard-worked at the portages, and sometimes at the oars, had a tolerably fair time of it, and, as the weather was fair most of the time, enjoyed the journey well. The record of one day's routine taken from "A Narrative of the Red River Expedition," which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December, January and February, 1870–71, and which was generally supposed to have been written by Colonel Wolseley, will give a pretty accurate idea of all. "At the first daylight (occasionally long before it) the *reveille* was sounded, followed quickly by the cry of 'Fort Garry' from every tent or bivouac fire. This was the watchward of the force, as 'Arms, men and canoes' (*arma virumque cano*) was the punning motto adopted for us by our witty Chaplain. Tents were struck and stowed away in the boats, and all were soon on board and working hard at the oar. We halted for an hour at 8 a.m. for breakfast, and again for another hour for dinner at 1 p.m., and finally, for the night, about 6 or 7 p.m. It was surprising, after the first week's practice, to see the rapidity with which the men cooked; they quickly became most expert at lighting fires, cutting down trees, &c. The sun soon burnt them a dark color—indeed, some became nearly black—the reflection from the water having a very bronzing effect upon the skin. The wear and tear upon the clothes was excessive—carrying loads on their backs tore their shirts and coats, whilst the constant friction of rowing soon wore large holes in their trousers, which, being patched with canvas from the bags in which the beans or other provisions had been carried, gave them a most motley appearance. Leading a sort of amphibious life, they were well nicknamed the 'canvas-backed ducks.' This constant pull-

ing was very monotonous employment; but we had a goal to reach, and all felt that every stroke of the oar brought us nearer to it. The long portages were most trying to the men, and it is very questionable whether the soldiers of any other nation would or could have gone through the same amount of physical labour that fell to our lot daily."

The advanced detachment under Colonel Fielden reached Fort Francis, situate on the right bank of Rainy River, on the 4th of August, having accomplished 208 miles in nineteen days; and, as the last detachment had left McNeill's Landing by that time, the Expedition was spread out to a length of over 150 miles. There were seventeen portages in this 208 miles of an aggregate length of three miles seventy-six chains, and at these the men had constructed, or improved, the roads, so that the troops following would have much less trouble and be able to move more rapidly. Fort Francis was, at that time, a small collection of wooden buildings, surrounded by a pailing, and occupied by a Half-breed agent of the Hudson's Bay Company. The country, for about a mile on each bank of Rainy River, is fertile, but the only part under cultivation was a small portion adjoining the Fort, where the soldiers found peas, potatoes and onions growing, and arrangements had been made for supplying them with fresh meat here, which was a very agreeable change after three weeks of salt pork and biscuits. Colonel Wolseley arrived at Fort Francis with the advance detachment, which he had overtaken on 29th July, and was joined there by Captain Butler, of the 69th Regiment, and Mr. Joseph Monkman, a Half-breed, who had both come from Red River Settlement. Captain Butler had been sent by General Lindsay to Pembina, and had made his way to Lower Fort Garry, visiting some of the loyal portions of the Settlement, and left on the 24th July to meet Colonel Wolseley. He reported the people in the Settlement still very uneasy. Riel and his followers continued in possession of Fort Garry, and the loyal inhabitants were anxiously awaiting the arrival of

the troops. While at Prince Arthur's Landing Colonel Wolseley had sent a Proclamation to the chief officer of the Hudson's Bay Company and to the Roman Catholic and Protestant Bishops. This had been made public, and relieved the fears of a portion of the inhabitants, who felt a little nervous about the coming of the troops.* Mr. Monkman had left Thunder Bay in June, and gone into the Settlement by way of Fort Francis and the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, and commenced his return on 20th July. The report of both gentlemen was to the effect that it was very uncertain whether Riel would offer any resistance or not. He was extremely anxious on the subject of an amnesty, and Bishop Taché had gone to Ottawa to urge on the authorities that a Proclamation of amnesty should be issued, and as long as this matter was in abeyance it was doubtful whether Riel would show fight or run away while he had a chance. Under these circumstances Colonel Wolseley had

---

* The following is a copy of the Proclamation as it appeared in the *New Nation* of the twenty-third of July. The paragraph commencing "Courts of Law," &c., was subsequently omitted :—

To the Loyal Inhabitants of Manitoba :

Her Majesty's Government having determined upon stationing some troops amongst you, I have been instructed by the Lieutenant-General Commanding in British North America to proceed to Fort Garry with the force under my command.

Our mission is one of peace, and the sole object of the expedition is to secure Her Majesty's Sovereign authority.

Courts of Law such as are common to every portion of Her Majesty's Empire will be duly established, and justice will be impartially administered to all races and all classes, the loyal Indians or Half-breeds being as dear to our Queen as any others of her loyal subjects.

The force which I have the honor of commanding will enter your Province representing no party, either in religion or politics, and will afford equal protection to the lives and property of all races and of all creeds.

The strictest order and discipline will be maintained, and private property will be carefully respected. All supplies furnished by the inhabitants to the troops will be duly paid for. Should anyone consider himself injured by an individual belonging to the force, his grievance shall be promptly enquired into.

All loyal people are earnestly invited to aid me in carrying out the above mentioned objects.

G. J. WOLSELEY, Colonel,
Commanding Red River Force.

to be prepared for any emergency, and to be ready either to "go forth on an errend of peace" or to fight for the maintenance of law and order, if necessary.

Colonel Wolseley remained at Fort Francis until the 10th, but the different detachments moved forward as they arrived, the first under Colonel Fielden, arriving at 10 a.m., and leaving at 3.30 p.m. on the 4th. Some of the *voyageurs* taken on at Shebandowan had proved incompetent; these were dismissed and replaced by some brought up the Winnipeg by Lieutenant Butler and Mr. Monkman, and some obtained from the Hudson's Bay post. All surplus stores were discharged here, and an hospital established, (although there was, fortunately, no sickness,) and left as a reserve, and one company of the Ontario Battalion remained as a guard. The field-oven was set to work here, and the men greatly relished a supply of soft bread, as a change from the "hard tack" rations they had been having for over two weeks. "From Fort Francis, the expedition had before it 131 miles of unbroken navigation, ending at Rat Portage. First, Rainy River, winding for sixty-seven miles with a gentle current through forests of the most luxuriant growth, broken here and there by slopes of green sward, where the Indians of former times had practised the art of cultivation so long forgotten to their descendants, and then the Lake of the Woods, where the course lay for sixty-four miles further, through islands, which, although the lake is large, afford sheltered channels where the stiffest breeze is hardly felt." * The journey to Rat Portage was accomplished without accident or special incident, and Colonel Fielden arrived at the Portage on the 8th, and was met by a party from the Red River Settlement which had come up the Winnipeg in six boats of the Hudson's Bay Company to meet the expedition. This party was under the guidance of the Rev. Mr. Gardiner, and their arrival was most welcome, not only as an evidence of

* S. J. Dawson's Report, page 21.

active sympathy in the settlement, but because the party had brought up a number of experienced guides to the river, in which the expedition was rather deficient.

The third and most toilsome part of the journey was from Rat Portage, at the outlet of the Lake of the Woods, down the Winnipeg River to Fort Alexander, at the entrance to Lake Winnipeg, a distance of 149 miles, in which there are twenty-five portages, with an aggregate length of three miles six chains. The difference in level between the Lake of the Woods and Lake Winnipeg is 340 feet, and the river is very broken and rapid for the greater part of its course, but with good guides is tolerably safe. It was long used by the North-West Company, and more recently by the Hudson's Bay Company; and although the expedition had hard work at some of the portages, and were in a little danger in running some of the rapids, it reached Fort Alexander without mishap. "The journey down the Winnipeg River can never be forgotten if once made. For the first fifty miles there are numerous islands – so much so that the river is a succession of lakes, or as if there were four or five rivers running side by side, uniting here and there only to separate a few miles lower down. At some points it is, however, contracted into one or two comparatively narrow channels, where the great rush of water resembles a magnificent mill-race. The passage of such places is always more or less dangerous, particularly if small islands or large rocks divide the rapids into several channels, crossing one another before they meet in the boiling cauldron of foaming water below. Numerous were the hair-breadth escapes; in many instances the lives of boats' crews seemed held in the balance for some moments—more awful for those who watched the scene from the bank than for the soldiers actually in the boat. Providence—a noble term, which this war in France has taught newspaper writers to sneer at—watched over us in a remarkable manner; for, although we had one or two boats wrecked on this mighty river, and many more were for

minutes in imminent danger, the whole force reached Lake Winnipeg without any loss of life."* The leading brigade of boats reached Fort Alexander on the 18th, and proceeded no further until the arrival of the other brigades containing regulars. By Sunday, 21st, all the regulars had arrived, and, after attending Divine Service in the morning, embarkation took place at 3 p.m., and about fifty boats conveyed the companies of the 60th, the Artillery and Engineers down the river to Lake Winnipeg. At Fort Alexander the force had been joined by Mr Donald A. Smith, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who accompanied it on the remainder of its journey. The troops passed the night on Elk Island, and started at 5 a.m. on the 22nd for the mouth of the Red River, which was reached by the fastest boats about noon. It was hoped that Stone Fort would be reached before dark, but at sunset it was still eleven miles distant, and the expedition halted for the night, camping on the right bank of the river. Every precaution had been taken to prevent any information of the arrival of the expedition reaching Riel, and with such success that he had not the slightest idea the expedition was so near him. The boats started again at 3.30 on the morning of the 23rd in a drizzling rain, which continued all day and made their journey very uncomfortable. The people along the banks of the Red River now began to know that the expedition had arrived, and it was greeted with discharges of musketry as it passed along. Stone Fort was reached at 8 o'clock, and here a good breakfast had been prepared by the Hudson's Bay Company officials, and was keenly relished. After breakfast the boats were relieved of all superfluous stores, only four days' rations being left, and the advance on Fort Garry was recommenced.

As the expedition was now fairly "in the enemy's country," and it was still thought probable that Riel would show fight,

---

* "Narrative of the Red River Expedition."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, February, 1871.

preparation was made, in the event of his disputing the passage of the river, to give him a warm reception. The two seven-pounder guns were placed in the bows of two boats, and an advance guard proceeded along the shore about a quarter of a mile ahead of the boats. The company of Captain Wallace was detailed for this purpose, and was mounted on such ponies as could be procured, and, failing those, in country carts, presenting rather a ludicrous appearance. This company had orders to prevent any persons passing up the river, but not to interfere with those coming down, and many who came down to meet the boats were surprised, and a little angry, to find they could not return; but it could not be helped. Colonel Wolseley had information that up to noon it was vaguely rumored in Winnipeg that the boats were in the river, but that Riel discredited the report altogether, not thinking it possible that they could have reached there so soon, and it was important to keep him in ignorance as long as possible. The boats continued on up the river all day through the rain, only halting an hour for dinner, and stopped for the night about two miles below the English Cathedral, about six miles by land and nine by water from Fort Garry, camp being formed on the right bank. About nine o'clock the drizzle turned to a heavy rain which continued all night, converting the prairie into a sea of mud, so that, next morning, Colonel Wolseley had to abandon his idea of advancing by land and keep to the river until Point Douglas was reached, about eight o'clock, two miles from the Fort, where the troops were landed. "The troops were disembarked on the left bank, and formed up in open column of companies. A few ponies that were brought by the inhabitants were useful in mounting the Colonel and his staff, and two country carts were used for drawing the guns, which were limbered up behind them. A line of skirmishers was thrown out about 400 yards in advance of the column, which immediately commenced its move in the direction of the village of Winnipeg, in column of fours, the 60th Rifles

leading, Artillery and Engineers next, and a company of 60th Rifles as rear guard. In this formation the column passed over a small creek, and keeping outside the village, wheeled slightly to its left, and advanced on the Fort, having the Assinniboine River on its right flank, and the village on its left. Some half-dozen loyal inhabitants, mounted on horseback, accompanied the column, and were useful as scouts and guides. The latest information obtained in the village was to the effect that Riel and his party were still inside the Fort, that the gates were shut, and that they intended resisting the troops. No flag was flying from the flagstaff in the Fort, and there was no sign of life visible; everything looked grim and frowning, and the gun mounted over the gateway that commanded the village and the prairie over which the troops were advancing, was expected momentarily to open fire. But the hopes of the troops were doomed to disappointment. On nearing the Fort some of the mounted men were sent forward to ascertain the state of affairs; they were followed by three of the Staff, and soon returned, having ridden all around the Fort and found the gate opening on the bridge over the Assinniboine River wide open. The troops were marched in by this gateway, having stopped and detained three men who were making off up the Assinniboine River. The Fort was found to be emptied of its late defenders, Riel, Lépine and O'Donohue having ridden off up the Red River about a quarter of an hour previously. The troops then formed line outside the Fort, the Union Jack was hoisted, a royal salute fired, and three cheers were given for the Queen, which were caught up and heartily re-echoed by many of the civilians and settlers who had followed the troops from the village." *

The "errand of peace" had been accomplished. Through 600 miles of "rocks and water" the gallant little expedition had manfully made its way, overcoming difficulties of nature

* Colonel Wolseley's Official Journal, 24th August, 1870.

which may well have deterred less bold and persevering men; disheartened at times,dispirited and confused by rumors of recall, with the elements warring against them and but little save a sense of duty to cheer them on, the men had still heartily, cheerfully, and willingly undergone all the trials and privations of that arduous advance; and now stood ankle-deep in the mud, victors without firing a shot, conscious that they had accomplished the object of their mission, that rebellion had fled to hide its diminished head, that peace and order would be restored, that the insult to the British flag was wiped out, and that it once more replaced the rebel banner which for ten long weary months had floated over Fort Garry.The condition in which everything was found was miserable in the extreme. The rain still continued, and it being impossible to find a spot free from mud on which to pitch tents, the troops were accommodated, in the best manner possible, in the buildings of the Fort, lately occupied by the Company All inside the Fort was in confusion and gave evidence of hasty flight, the "President's" unfinished breakfast being on a table, and "Adjutant-General" Lépine having departed in such haste that he had forgotten to take with him a pot of pomatum with which he was wont to oil his moustache. Bishop Taché had arrived on the previous day, accompanied by Messrs. M. A. Girard of Varrennes, and Joseph Royal, of Montreal, who came up to fill positions in the new Government, and Riel and some others had interviews with him on the night of the 23rd. It was then the intention of Riel to remain, but as soon as he heard the bugles of the Sixtieth, his courage failed him and he crossed the Assiniboine to Bishop Taché's, afterwards going to St. Joseph, Minnesota. The militia were only a short distance behind the regulars, and arrived in a few days in good health and spirits. One of the most noticeable features of the expedition was that not a life was lost in any way, and that there was an almost entire absence of sickness. This is, to a great extent attributable to the fact that, after the expedition

left Shebandowan, no spirits of any kind were allowed. There had been two canteens at Prince Arthur's Landing when camp was first formed there, one for the regulars and one for the militia; the latter was closed at the request of Mr. Von Nostrand, Stipendiary Magistrate, it being contrary to law to sell spirits in the vicinity of Public Works, but the other was kept open. From the time of embarkation to the arrival at Fort Garry, no spirits could be obtained, and the good health of the troops may, in some measure, be fairly attributed to that cause. Colonel Wolseley in his report to the Military Secretary, dated 26th September, say: "From first to last there was a total absence of crime; and I may add of sickness also. Never has any body of men on active service been more cheerful or more healthy. This has been one of the few military expeditions where spirits have formed no part of the daily ration, and where no intoxicating liquor was obtainable. I consider that the above-mentioned happy results are in a great measure to be attributed to this fact; a large ration of tea was issued instead, and I found that the men worked better than I had ever seen soldiers do upon any previous occasion where rum formed part of their daily allowance."

The position of Colonel Wolseley on his arrival was a difficult one. The purchase money for the North-West had been paid over to the Hudson's Bay Company (11th May); the Order in Council transferring the territory to Canada had been passed (23rd June), and the Hon. Adams G. Archibald had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the New Province (20th May), but he had not arrived, and Colonel Wolseley found that there was no Civil Government, no provision having been made for any interregnum between the overthrow of Riel and the installation of Governor Archibald. He had no civil authority, and to have proclaimed martial law would have been most injudicious, especially as there was not the least semblance of resistance, and not a shot had been fired except those of welcome to the troops. Many of

those who had suffered imprisonment or other wrongs at the hands of Riel and his followers were anxious for revenge, and endeavoured to persuade the commanding officer to issue warrants for the arrest of Riel and others; but he, wisely, refused to assume any civil power, and held that the Hudson's Bay Company was the only civil authority, until the arrival of Governor Archibald. A few arrests had been made when the troops arrived, but the prisoners were ordered to be released.

On the twenty-seventh two companies of the Ontario Battalion, under command of Major Wainwright, arrived, having been wind bound for thirty-six hours on Lake Winnipeg, and after that the other brigades came up rapidly. The period of arrival being so much later than had been expected at the time the expedition was planned, no time was lost by Colonel Wolseley in having the regular troops start on their return to Canada, so that they might be in time to embark for England, and two companies started on the return voyage on the twenty-ninth, the others following rapidly, so that the last company of the 60th left Fort Garry on the first of September, some going by boats, and some by Mr. Snow's road to the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods. Peace and order seemed to be perfectly restored, as far as the military could effect it, and Colonel Wolseley telegraphed General Lindsay, on 29th August, that he saw no necessity for detaining the regulars, and therefore sent them back. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald arrived about half-past eight on the evening of the second, having followed the route of the expedition, but had been detained in the Lake of the Woods. A royal salute was fired in his honour next morning, after which the Royal Artillery and Engineers left by boat, and Colonel Wolseley started for the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, where he met the returning expedition, and accompanied it part of the way back to Montreal, which place was reached by the last of the regulars on 14th October. The militia battalions wintered in Fort

Garry, Lieut.-Colonel Jarvis, of the Ontario Battalion, being left in command. So ended the Red River Expedition. Necessitated by the distracted state of the country it executed a warlike journey for a peaceful purpose, which being accomplished the Imperial troops connected with it withdrew, and left the militia to assist the civil authority, if necessary, in maintaining order; but, fortunately, no such necessity arose, and that force also was withdrawn in the spring. Too much praise cannot be accorded to Colonel Wolseley for the able manner in which he led his troops through a difficult and dangerous country; and no small amount of the success of the expedition was due to his personal example and untiring zeal; and it is to be regretted that he did not confine himself to the very able Official Journal of the expedition, which contains, beyond mere military details, an immense amount of useful information pertaining to the country, but saw fit to write an unofficial account,* in which he animadverted very severely on the conduct of the leading public men in Canada, and laid himself open to the suspicion that his strictures were mainly caused by pique at the action of the Government of the day in appointing a civilian as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba instead of following the advice of Earl Granville and appointing the Commander of the Expedition.

---

* "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December, 1870; January and February, 1871.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ARRIVAL OF LIEUT.-GOVERNOR ARCHIBALD—THE ADVANTAGE OF RIEL'S FLIGHT—GOVERNOR ARCHIBALD'S CONCILIATORY COURSE—THE DEATH OF GOULET—WHY REGULAR TROOPS SHOULD HAVE BEEN LEFT AT FORT GARRY—A CENSUS TAKEN—IMMIGRATION—LAND TROUBLES—THE "FENIAN RAID"—A CONTEMPTIBLE FIZZLE—ARREST OF "GENERAL" O'NEIL AND HIS RELEASE BY U.S. AUTHORITIES—THE SECOND EXPEDITION TO RED RIVER—OFFER OF $5,000 BY THE ONTARIO GOVERNMENT FOR THE ARREST OF THE MURDERERS OF SCOTT—RIEL ASSISTED BY THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

The position of Colonel Wolseley was rather peculiar, as we have already stated, on account of his not being invested with any civil authority, and he was, doubtless, very glad to be relieved from responsibility by the arrival of Lt.-Gov. Archibald, on the 2nd of September. The arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor had been purposely delayed until after that of the troops; and he had, moreover, lost a day looking for the terminus of the road from the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, it having been arranged that he should land there and be escorted by a party of the citizens, to be sent out by Bishop Taché to meet him, to Winnipeg by the newly made road; but his guide could not find the landing place, and it was as well he did not, for the Bishop, who only arrived at Fort Garry the day before the troops, had not been able to raise an escort to meet him, and so he would have found no one at the landing. The new Governor was kindly, but not enthusiastically received. The French element was greatly dissatisfied that the amnesty which they had been led to expect had not been proclaimed, and it needed all the

power and influence of Bishop Taché to persuade them to quietly submit to the new order of things without the proclamation of the amnesty, which they were told was only postponed, but would certainly be granted. The Canadian or "Loyal" party was equally dissatisfied. Many of them had suffered much at the hands of Riel, and clamored for reprisals in the way of arrests and imprisonments, which the Government just coming into power did not see its way clearly to make; so that Governor Archibald had a very difficult task to perform in attempting to affiliate two distinct classes, neither one of which could be thoroughly conciliated without giving offence to the other. Added to this, some immigration had already commenced, but it was mostly of a partizan character, those who came from Ontario joining the Canadian party in its demand for the punishment of those who had been in rebellion, whilst those who were from Quebec supported the French party in its cry for amnesty and a general forgetfulness of the past. Between the two extremes the Governor tried to steer impartially, and that he was roundly abused by both sides is one of the best evidences of his success; and the peaceful establishment of law and order, and the restoration of public confidence is another.

Of course, those who had suffered were anxious for the punishment of Riel and his followers, and warrants for the arrest of Riel, O'Donohue and Lépine for the murder of Scott, were applied for to Colonel Wolseley; he, however, having no civil authority, could not act, and recognized the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company, under the management of Mr. Donald A. Smith, as the only legal authority, pending the arrival of Governor Archibald. Mr. Smith, very prudently, declined at first to issue a warrant, fearing that any attempt at punishment in the then temper of the people—disappointed and angered at what they considered the duplicity of the Canadian Government in promising amnesty, and then taking forcible possession of the country without granting it—would lead to fresh troubles; and, although warrants were

subsequently obtained, the parties wanted had had time to make good their escape to the United States. There is no doubt but that the flight of Riel was the best thing that could have happened for the peace of the country ; and this opinion was fully held by Governor Archibald, for, in a letter to Sir George E. Cartier, dated the day after his arrival (3rd September, 1870), he says : "It is, perhaps, the best solution of the question that these men have taken to flight. Their presence here, in the meantime, would have been a source of incessant trouble. Warrants for the apprehension of the three men who have fled were applied for and obtained, and have been placed in the hands of constables. Of course, while feeling runs so high as it does at present, an attempt at arrest (if they had remained) would have been met by resistance, and in the end we would perhaps have had to call in the military, and we would have had a world of trouble, which the absence of these people enable us to escape. I do not know whether Bishop Taché will take the same view, but I hope he will." Again, writing on the tenth, he says : "I have seen a good deal of Bishop Taché, who assures me of his support in the views I am acting on ; but he is very nervous about the amnesty, and he is evidently fretting at the delay in what he thinks is sure to come. He says there is great uneasiness in the French population, and fears the consequences of any attempt to arrest the trio (Riel, O'Donohue and Lépine), against whom warrants were procured before I arrived. I thought it right to press on him that the surest way to avoid any such collision is that the parties should not be found within the jurisdiction. I have no doubt that any attempt to arrest would be met with a desperate resistance, which might involve a great many of the population, while, so far as I can learn, there is no disposition to proceed against any person but the three men who were considered in a peculiar manner to be chargeable with the death of Scott. I have explained to the Bishop that, even if there were an amnesty to-morrow, it would not save

these parties from possible attempts on their lives, which might be attended with consequences as fatal as the attempt to arrest, and, therefore, under the present circumstances, in the interests of the community, in the interests of the French Half-breeds, and in the interests of the parties themselves, it would be better that they should not be found in the territory."

On the day following his arrival the Governor had inserted in the *New Nation* (then the only newspaper in the Province) a notice that he would hold a levee on the sixth instant, at which his Commission, &c., would be read, and on that day he was waited on by the Catholic and Protestant Bishops and Clergy, and a number of leading business men and farmers of the Settlement. The first impression made by the new Governor was good, and although the Opposition press tried to lash the Dominion Government over his back by accusing him of partiality to the French, yet his course, on the whole, was highly judicious, and the best possible to re-establish order on a permanent basis. His attention was at once turned to having a census taken so that electoral divisions could be made and an election for the Local House held at once, as it was desirable that the form of Responsible Government provided for in the Manitoba Act, should be inaugurated as speedily as possible. Pending the election and in accordance with the instructions given him by the Secretary of State for the Provinces, under date 4th of August, he appointed two members of the Executive Council, leaving the other offices vacant until after the elections. The two gentlemen so appointed were Hon. Alfred Boyd, Provincial Secretary, and Hon. M. A. Girard, Provincial Treasurer. The following extract from Governor Archibald's despatch to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, dated 17th of September, will give his reasons for the appointments: "Thinking it was now time to organize a Government, and that I had become sufficiently acquainted with the people to form some idea of the material out of which this

could be formed, I have chosen a man representing each section of the population here, and appointed them members of my Executive Council. Mr. Alfred Boyd is a merchant of good standing here. He is a man of fair abilities, of considerable means, and very popular among the English Half-breeds. He was chosen by the parish of St. Andrews (the most populous parish in the Settlement) as a delegate to the Convention last winter. While highly esteemed among the English party, he is not obnoxious to the French. I have appointed him Provincial Secretary. Mr. Marc Amable Girard is a French-Canadian from Varennes, below Montreal, who has recently removed here. He is a Notary by profession, has been Mayor of Varennes, and is a gentleman of some property, and of good standing, and seems to be the nominee of the French party. I have appointed him Provincial Treasurer."

On the 13th September an event occurred which caused much excitement, and threatened for a moment to disturb the peace of the Settlement ; but a prompt investigation of the circumstances of the case, and the evident disposition shown to administer even justice, soon calmed the excited feelings of the people, and order was restored without any difficulty. A man named Elzear Goulet, who had been one of Riel's Councillors, and a member of the "Court-Martial" which condemned Scott to death, made his appearance in a saloon in Winnipeg, was recognized and chased by a man who had been imprisoned by Riel, and some volunteers belonging to the Ontario Battalion, and in trying to swim across the Red River was drowned. No Coroner had as yet been appointed, and, in the absence of Dr. Bird, who had been Coroner under the Hudson's Bay Government, Governor Archibald ordered an investigation to be held before two magistrates, Messrs. Robert McBeth and Samuel Hamelin, and appointed Mr. H. J. G. McConville, a Montreal lawyer newly arrived in the Settlement, to conduct the case. The examination lasted many days, owing to

the difficulty in getting witnesses to testify, and in obtaining a clerk to take down the evidence, the general impression amongst the French being that the investigation was to be used as a sort of Star Chamber, to obtain information on which to base a series of general prosecutions.

It would appear from the evidence that the ends of justice were made somewhat subservient to necessity in this case, for there was no doubt but that the death of Goulet was caused by these three men—who belonged to the Canadian or "Loyal" party—but it was felt that in the excited state of public feeling to have made *any* arrest would, in all probability, have precipitated a conflict between the two nationalities and religions which would have been far more disastrous than the rising of the previous winter; it was, therefore, deemed more expedient to defer any action in the matter until popular feeling should have become more quiet. The fact was that the short-sighted policy of the Gladstone Government, in its haste to withdraw the troops from Canada, of immediately recalling the regulars and leaving the volunteers as the only military force in the Province, was already beginning to bear evil fruit. The French Half-breeds did not consider that they had ever rebelled against British authority; but on the contrary, that they had only asserted their rights as British subjects to a voice in the management of their own affairs by resisting the encroachment of Canada on those rights, and that they would not have obtained those rights had they not taken up arms against Canada. They laid down their arms when they thought that the object for which they had been taken up was accomplished, but the presence of Canadian troops amongst them, and the delay in proclaiming the amnesty, made them feel that they were being treated as a conquered people, and there was a very decided inclination amongst them to again take up arms and "fight it out." To regular British soldiers there could not have been any objection taken; and it was hoped that the portion of the 60th which was sent up would have been allowed, at least,

to remain for the winter; but no amount of representation on the part of the Canadian Government could convince the Gladstone Ministry that the interests of peace would be best served by allowing the regulars to remain a short time at Fort Garry until order was perfectly restored, and they were taken back to Quebec to spend the winter there to no purpose, when their presence would have been of great advantage in the North-West. It must be remembered that the majority of the volunteers were Protestants, and a large proportion of them Orangemen who made no secret of their desire to "avenge the murder of poor Scott;" that they had neither the training nor steadiness of regular troops, and that many of those who had been imprisoned by Riel and obliged to submit when they had not force enough to resist, were very anxious to avenge their wrongs and incite the volunteers to a rupture with the French party now that the English party was the stronger of the two. The majority of the volunteers were quiet and orderly, but, unfortunately, there were some turbulent spirits amongst them, and as grog-shops were altogether too numerous in Winnipeg, there were several "rows," so that, after the death of Goulet, Colonel Jarvis thought it more prudent to stop the leave of the Ontario Battalion for a while, and prevent their going into Winnipeg at all.

Meanwhile Riel, O'Donohue, and a number of their followers, had established themselves at St. Joseph, just across the boundary line, and were secretly plotting for another rising after the winter had set in, and no help could be expected from Canada. A meeting of about forty of the disaffected was held at River Salle—where the first opposition to Mr. Macdougall had been planned—on the night of the 17th of September, four days after the death of Goulet, at which Riel and Lépine were supposed to have been present; but, although threats were freely indulged in, and a company of volunteers was sent to the frontier to protect it against the threatened raid from St. Joseph, no rising took place, and

the winter passed in peace and quiet. After a little while the volunteers and the inhabitants began to get on better terms with each other, although the correspondents of some Canadian newspapers--especially the *Nouveau-Monde* and *Globe* tried their best to spread ill-feeling by exaggeration and misrepresentation of the conduct of the volunteers on the one hand, and ridiculing and belittleing the French Half-breeds on the other. After the volunteers got fairly settled in their winter quarters, an amateur dramatic association was formed, and gave several very creditable entertainments, while a minstrel troupe and a few balls and parties tended to make the winter pass pleasantly, and to place them in familiar intercourse with the people, so that by the spring, when they were disbanded, or taken back to Canada, there was a much better feeling than there had been immediately after their arrival.

It was not desirable that the volunteers should do police duty, and it had been intended to form a body of mounted police in Canada and send it up after the expedition. The project was abandoned, and an attempt made to raise a local force; but the response to Governor Archibald's call for men was so meagre, and the terms demanded so exorbitant, that it was found impossible to do anything in that direction, and a small force of twelve men was formed from the volunteers, with Captain Villiers, late of the 13th Hussars, as Chief, and Captain DePlainval as Sub-Chief. A division of the country into districts, for the purpose of taking the census, was made as speedily as possible, and the enumerators commenced their work on the 27th of October, and completed it during November. Their duty was to give an exact return of the population of the Province on the 16th July—the day after its formal entry into the Dominion—those who were residents, but happened to be absent on that date, being included, as were also those Indians who "dwelt in houses" —*i.e.*, who followed civilized pursuits and were not roaming about hunting and trapping. The returns showed the

population to be 11,963, of whom 1,565 were whites, 558 Indians, 5,757 French Half-breeds, and 4,083 English Half-breeds. Religions were divided—6,247 Catholic; 5,716 Protestant. Nearly the whole population were British subjects there only being sixty-two citizens of the United States, half of whom had been born in Canada and had became naturalized. Of the 1,565 whites, 747 were born in the North-West, 294 in Canada, 69 in the United States, 125 in England, 240 in Scotland, 47 in Ireland, 15 in France, and 28 in other countries. Immediately after the completion of the census, writs were issued for the local election, which was held on the 30th December, and passed off very quietly, a number of the candidates being elected by acclamation.

The following is a return of the members elected. Those marked * were returned by acclamation :—

Baie St. Paul .....J. Dubuc.*	St. Boniface, West.....L. Schmidt.*
Headingly .....J. Taylor.	St. Charles.....H. J. Clarke.*
High Bluff .....J. Norquay.*	St. Clements .....Thos. Bunn.
Kildonan ..... J. Sutherland.	St. Francois Xavier, E....P. Breland.
Lake Manitoba.....A. McKay.*	St. Francois Xavier, W..J. Royal.*
Poplar Point .....D. Spence.	St. James .....E. Bourke.
Portage la Prairie.....F. O. Bird.	St. Norbert, North.....J. Lemay.
St. Agathe .....Geo. Klyne.	St. Norbert, South.....P. Delorme.*
St. Andrews, North...A. Boyd.	St. Paul.....Dr. Bird.*
St. Andrews, South ..E. H. G. Hay.	St. Peters .....T. Howard.
St. Anne .....J. McTavish.*	St. Vital..... A.Beauchemin*
St. Boniface, East .....M. A. Girard.*	Winnipeg..... .....D. A. Smith.

The Legislative Council was appointed 15th March, 1871, when the following gentlemen were called to that body :—

Hon. F. Dauphinais.	Hon. Colin Inkster.
" Donald Gunn.	" J. H. O'Donnell.
" Solomon Hamelin.	" Francis Ogletree.

Hon. James McKay, Speaker.

The Executive Council was appointed on 10th January, 1871, when the following gentlemen accepted office :—

Hon. Marc Amable Girard.....Treasurer.
" Thomas Howard .....Provincial Secretary.
" Henry James Clarke, Q.C.....Attorney-General.
" Alfred Boyd.....Minister of Public Works and Agriculture.
" James McKay .....Without office.

Nothing of very striking importance occurred during the winter beyond a few disturbances with the volunteers, which were not of a serious nature; and the impartiality with which Governor Archibald made appointments, and the fairness with which he recognised the claims of the French Half-breeds, caused him to grow in popularity, and tended to restore feelings of peace and security. With the spring came an influx of immigrants, the first arriving on the 29th of April. About the 1st of May such of the volunteers as desired to settle in the country were discharged from service, and a grant of land made them; those who did not wish to remain were returned to the Province from whence they came—all but two companies, about eighty men, who were kept to guard the Fort, and to assist the police in maintaining order if required. During the summer the land question very nearly caused trouble, but through the exertions of Governor Archibald the danger was averted. The new immigrants were, of course, very anxious to obtain land, and, quite naturally, wanted to get the best without any regard as to whom it belonged to; the Governor was not in a position to grant any lands so speedily, for the Indian title had first to be extinguished, and the Half-breed reservation under the Manitoba Act set apart, before the Government could determine what lands it really had at its disposal to give to actual settlers. This took some time to accomplish. The Indian Treaties were not concluded until July; and it was about the same time before the surveyors got fairly to work, and a Land Office was opened in Winnipeg. Meanwhile some of the new-comers had grown impatient and squatted upon whatever land they took a fancy to, which was resented by the French Half-breeds, who claimed some of the lands so occupied, and for a while a collision seemed imminent. The greatest danger of a collision occurred at *Rivière aux Islets de Bois*, which a body of French Half-breeds had selected as a site for their farms, and put up some enclosures. A party of immigrants from Ontario took

possession of this site, staked off the ground, put up huts, and, as if to add insult to injury, changed the name of the river to the Boyne. The French Half-breeds at once held a meeting, and determined to drive out the intruders by force; but Governor Archibald, hearing of the matter, sent for some of the leaders, and by threats and entreaties induced them to abandon their threatened attack, and something like peace was restored.

Some of the new immigrants and a portion of the volunteers from Ontario seemed determined to provoke a collision with the French, and lost no opportunity of irritating them and abusing the Governor for his alleged partiality towards them. Some of the volunteers did not hesitate to declare that they had taken an oath before leaving Ontario to avenge the murder of Scott, and to shoot any Frenchman who was in any way implicated in his death ; and as a sort of challenge to the Catholics, an Orange Lodge was formed, and the 12th of July celebrated by a procession, with party badges, tunes, &c. About this time Riel returned to his home, and was warmly welcomed by his old friends. He had been spoken of as a candidate for the House of Communs for Provencher, but had been persuaded that his election would be useless as he would either be shot or expelled from the House. After the return of Riel and the affair at *Rivière aux Islets de Bois*, the temper of the French began to get sullen. They recognized the fact that the large immigration from Ontario would soon sweep away their political majority, and that the Province would be ruled pretty much as the newcomers pleased, without any regard for them ; and they began to grow uneasy at the long delay in proclaiming a general amnesty, which no argument could persuade them it was not in the power of the Canadian Government to grant. Several meetings were held in the French parishes, and the subject of another rising in the fall was discussed. Meanwhile, the irrepressible "General" O'Neill was again meditating a "raid" on the pocket-books of the confiding

servant girls of New York, and followed his usual game of planning another "invasion" of Canada, this time selecting the far away Province of Manitoba, the warm receptions he had received in Upper and Lower Canada on his previous visits in 1866 and 1870 not encouraging him to try either of those Provinces again. At first sight his plan seemed to savor more of temporary success than either of his former efforts; for he was almost certain of receiving a friendly reception from the French Half-breeds, while it was doubtful whether the English Half-breeds were so much in love with Canada as to fight on her behalf, and the bulk of the volunteers having been withdrawn, there was really very little material from which he need expect a vigorous resistance. Added to this he had an ample supply of men within easy distance, for there were two railways under construction in Northern Minnesota at the time, on which several thousand men, mostly Irishmen, were engaged; and these, together with the nondescript class generally found hovering about the frontier towns of the West, and the scum of the large cities, gave him an abundance of men for his purpose. Of arms and ammunition he had a fair supply, for the United States Government had kindly returned what had been seized by their troops after the last raid. With circumstances so much in his favor, it is not surprising that O'Neill was easily persuaded by O'Donohue to try one more invasion of Canada, and the rumours of Fenian concentrations of men and arms near Pembina and other points on the frontier, began to be current in Manitoba during September.

The "head and front" of this new move was W. B. O'Donohue, Riel's ex-Treasurer; and he claimed that the attempt was not intended as a Fenian movement at all, but was simply meant as a continuation of the rebellion of '69-70, and that Riel, Lépine and the other leaders were cognizant of what was intended, and were prepared to lend their assistance to the movement. In a letter addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, dated St. Paul., 26th February,

1875, O'Donohue says he could prove, amongst other things, "That the so-called "Fenian raid" is a *misnomer*, as Fenianism had nothing whatever to do with it. That it was simply a continuation of the insurrection inaugurated in 1869, and with the same avowed intention. and by the same parties, a fact which the then existing Government of Manitoba was cognizant of for months previous to the so-called "raid." That my part in it was simply that of an agent of the people, holding a commission authorized by a resolution of the Council held at la Rivère Salle in September, 1870,over which Council L. Riel presided. This commission I hold, signed by the officers, both civil and military, and of the late Provisional Government of the French party ; and also a copy of the resolution authorizing the commission, as a proof of which I have in my possession the minute book of the Council." On the other hand, Governor Archibald, Bishop Taché and others testified to Riel's opposition to the raid, and his exertions with his fellow-countrymen to deter them from assisting it. The evidence, however, we must admit, seems to us a little partial, and there does not appear to be any reasonable grounds for doubt but that Riel favored the movement at first, and that it was only after the raid was over, and the brave O'Neil had for the third time sought safety in the arms of an United States Marshal, that Reil suddenly remembered his loyalty and offered his services, and those of some two hundred *Metis* to Governor Archibald. The "raid" took place on the 5th of October, and was a more contemptible fizzle than either of its predecessors. At half-past seven o'clock in the morning "Generals" O'Neil, Curley and Donnelly, and O'Donohue, with thirty-five followers, appeared at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina, which they took possession of, but immediately afterwards a squad of United States troops under Colonel Wheaton arrived at the post and captured all the "Generals" and ten of the "army," the balance, led by O'Donohue, showing to what good service stout legs can be put when craven hearts prompt the run-

ning. So ended the "raid." Not even a blank cartridge was wasted, nor was there the slightest opportunity for the most gushing reporter to get up even the mildest "sensation" report of it. O'Donohue left in such a hurry when he heard that the United States troops were coming that he forgot to take his cloak and overcoat. He was taken prisoner shortly after on the Canadian side of the line by some Half-breeds who, either through ignorance or design, took him into United States territory and surrendered him to Colonel Wheaton, who promptly discharged him, as he had been captured in Canadian territory. The prisoners went through the farce of an examination before United States Commissioner Spencer, and were liberated as speedily as possible, on the plea that there was no evidence that the offence charged —breach of the neutrality laws—had been planned in Minnesota. O'Neil, finding that the United States officers really meant to do their duty promptly this time, saw that it was useless to make another attempt, and shortly after returned to the East.

As to the preparations made to repel the invasion, had it become serious, we may say that Governor Archibald had been aware of O'Donohue's design for some time, and had been making very strong efforts with the Catholic clergy to induce them to use their influence with Riel and his followers to unite with the Government in its efforts to repel the invaders; and had also issued a proclamation on the 3rd of October, setting forth the danger with which the Province was threatened, and calling upon "all our said loving subjects, irrespective of race or religion, or of past local differences, to rally round the flag of our common country," and to assemble at once in the different parishes and enroll under local officers. The Canadians and English Half-breeds responded very promptly to this call, and about nine hundred men were speedily enrolled; but the French held back, and it was only on the 8th—after he had heard of the capture of O'Neil & Co., by Colonel Wheaton—that

Governor Archibald was informed that some two hundred of the *Metis* had assembled at St. Boniface, across the Red River from Fort Garry, and desired to offer their services. He crossed the river in company with Hon. Mr. Royal, and was introduced to the leaders, amongst whom were Riel and Lépine, shaking hands with them and thanking them for their tendered service, which was accepted, and about fifty of them were detailed to act as scouts, but, of course, there was nothing for them to do, as the would-be raiders had been already dispersed, or captured by Colonel Wheaton. Governor Archibald held, in his report of the raid, and in his evidence before the Select Committee in 1874, that at the time Riel offered his services it was not known that the raid was at an end; that their was still intense excitement, and that another attack from the way of St. Joseph was momentarily expected; and that Riel's offer of assistance was made in good faith, as he could not possibly have known the precise state of affairs, which was, that the leaders having been captured, the raid had collapsed. With all due defference to Governor Archibald, there is no evidence to show that Riel did not have efficient scouts as well as the Governor; that he was perfectly well aware of the fact of the raid having failed; and that he had held back so that he and his followers could be at liberty to join the raiders if they succeeded in establishing themselves in the territory; or if —as was the case—the raid was frustrated by the United States troops, then he could offer the Governor his services just when they would not be needed.

The effect of the news of the raid in Canada was to cause a second expedition to be hastily fitted out, to take the place of those volunteers who had been recalled during the summer, and an Order in Council was passed on the 12th of October, providing for the immediate despatch of 200 men to reinforce the two service companies in Fort Garry. It was well known before the expedition left that their services would not be needed to fight the Fenians, as

there was no probability of the attack being renewed, but it was seen that the force left in the Province was two small, and that a larger body of men was needed until order should have been perfectly restored and the local militia thoroughly organized. For the latter duty Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith, Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia, commanding Military District No. 5, was ordered to proceed to Manitoba, by way of Pembina, at once, to take command of the new military district to be formed, and also to meet the expedition at the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods. The expedition was formed on the same basis as the previous one (except that there were no regulars), 100 men being taken from each Province,—and it is worthy of notice that far more than the necessary number volunteered in each district, so that good selections could be made, and so promptly was this done that in five days after the Order in Council had been passed, the officers commanding the several military districts reported that their contingents were ready, and were being forwarded to Collingwood at once, at which place the whole force, with the necessary military stores, equipment and supplies for the expedition was concentrated by the 20th. On the following day, at 4 o'clock p.m., the whole force, with most of the supplies, embarked on the *Chicora* for Thunder Bay, under command of Captain Thomas Scott (now member of the House of Commons for Selkirk), the senior officer of the expedition. It reflected great credit on the Militia Department that, in very little more than a week from the date of the Order in Council, the men had been gathered from all parts of Ontario and Quebec, armed, equipped, supplied and started on their journey. The remainder of the supplies, horses, &c., left Collingwood in the steamer *Manitoban* on the same day, and the two steamers arrived at Thunder Bay on the 24th. The route pursued was the same as that of the first expedition, but, the road from Thunder Bay to Shebandowan Lake being finished, the transfer of troops, stores, &c., was made in *thirty-four*

hours, instead of more than six weeks, which it took Colonel Wolseley to accomplish the same distance. The first brigade of boats left Shebandowan at 1:30 p.m. on the 27th, and the remainder on the following day. The winter set in unusually early this year, and the expedition had to fight its way through a succession of snow-storms, cut channels for the boats through ice two inches thick, wade through half-frozen mud and water, dragging the heavy boats after them down the shallow rivers, where there was frequently not enough water to float a laden canoe, and bear the utmost exposure to cold, with the thermometer often nearly down to zero. The hardships to be endured and the difficulties to be overcome were much greater than those of the previous expedition; but the men bore with and overcome them with the utmost good will, laughing at the most serious obstacles, and manfully fighting onwards, every man seeming to be alive to the great importance of getting through quickly, and reaching Fort Garry before the winter finally closed in. The expedition arrived within twelve miles of the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods on 12th of November, when the ice became so solid that there was no hope of advancing further by boats, and the flotilla was put into winter quarters and the men marched across the ice to the road to Fort Garry. Colonel Smith had joined the expedition at the mouth of Rainy River on the 11th and led it into Fort Garry, which place was reached at mid-day on the 18th, the distance from the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, 110 miles, having been marched in four days and a half, and the whole journey from Collingwood to Fort Garry made in twenty-eight days, without the loss of a man, or a serious accident of any kind, in spite of the most trying weather. Colonel Smith says in his report, "From first to last the weather was of the most unfavorable nature; rain, snow, intense cold, and violent gales alternating in rapid succession, presented all the obstacles that the commencement of the winter season in these high latitudes offers to the progress of troops." The

Red and Assiniboine rivers were both frozen over before they were reached, and the men marched across them on their way to the Fort.

Three Half-breeds were arrested for participation in the attack on the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina on the 5th of October, and tried for treason at the Quarterly Court opened at Fort Garry on 17th of November, 1871, Judge Johnson presiding. The men tried were R. Villeneuve, the evidence against whom was not very clear, and who was found "not guilty" by the Jury; Andre Jerome St. Matthe, in whose case the Jury failed to agree; and Oiseau L'Entendre, who was found guilty and sentenced to be hung on the 24th of February, 1872, but was pardoned. The result of these trials, added to the arrival of the volunteers, served to convince the French Half-breeds that playing at treason might prove a dangerous game, and no attempt at further disurbance was made during the winter. With the new year came another cause of danger, not from an unexpected source, which for a moment created great excitement and threatened to be the means of a fresh outbreak. It will be recollected that both in the House of Commons and in the Ontario Legislature the Opposition had endeavored to pass a vote of censure on the Dominion Government for not endeavoring to bring the murderers of Scott to justice; and, also, that the Government of the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald had been defeated in Ontario and a new Ministry formed by the Reform party under Mr. Blake. The cry for vengence on the murderers of Scott had been made to do good party duty during the elections, and to the bitter sectarian feeling thus engendered was partly due the defeat of the Government. On his accession to office, on the 17th of December, 1871, Mr. Blake did not lose much time in bringing the subject of Scott's murder again before the House, and on the 18th of February, in Supply, an appropriation of $5,000 was voted to be offered as a reward for the arrest of the murderers of Scott. The County of Middlesex also

offered a reward, and it was expected that these rewards would lead to an attempt to cause the arrest of the parties principally concerned in the murder of Scott. The fact that Riel and Lépine were allowed to reside quietly at their homes, without any effort being made to punish them, was made the occasion of violent attacks on Governor Archibald and the Dominion Government by the Opposition press of Ontario, which, for party purposes, and to secure the Orange vote, clamored for the punishment of these men, well knowing at the same time that an attempt to arrest them would lead to civil war in the Province, where the great bulk of the people regarded them as heroes and patriots, and deeply resented the endeavors of Ontario to regulate the affairs of Manitoba, while that Province enjoyed Responsible Government, and nineteen out of twenty-four of the members of its Legislative Assembly were in favor of letting by-gones be by-gones. But, unfortunately, party spirit is sometimes so unreasonable that it is quite willing to throw a whole country into the horrors of even a civil war and bring ruin and destruction upon thousands, provided a petty party triumph can be temporarily gained. By far the greater portion of the agitation in Ontario for vengence on the murderers of Scott was a party political movement from beginning to end, and that it did not cause a war of races and creeds throughout the Dominion was no fault of the party leaders, but was due to the policy of keeping off premature action until "time, the great curer of evils," had calmed excited feeling and obliterated much of the asperity which existed during the years immediately following the troubles of 1869-70.*

The feeling of the French Half-breeds on receipt of the

* "Time, the great curer of evils, will soon calm down the apprehensions of these engaged in the rising, and all will go well with you, especially if Riel and those directly implicated in Scott's death submit to a voluntary exile."—Extract from a letter from Sir John A. Macdonald to Governor Archibald, dated 1st November, 1870.

intelligence that rewards had been offered for the capture of Riel and Lépine was most intense, and meetings were again held for the purpose of advocating resistance should any attempt be made to arrest them. The temper of the people and the condition of the affairs in the Province, is fully expressed in the following extract from a letter from Lt.-Governor Archibald to Sir George E. Cartier, under date 24th February, 1872: "I have had a rather anxious time since the intelligence arrived of the rewards offered by Middlesex County Council and the Legislature of Ontario. Intense excitement prevailed for a while among the French Half-breeds. On the point of blotting out the past, there is little or no division among them. Even those of them who did not side with Riel and "the men of the movement," as they are called here, look upon the question of punishment of the offenders as one of race, and would consider an attempt of the kind on any of these people as an attack upon the whole. I had learned privately, through the instrumentality of the police, that immediately after the arrival of the telegraphic news, meetings were held in each French parish on the subject, and that there was but one feeling among the people on the subject. They determined that the parties to whom the rewards were directed should remain in the country, and that the people should protect them by an armed force against any attempt to arrest them. I fear very much that had the attempt been made it would have lead to serious bloodshed. Happily the feelings of the great body of the English people of this country have so changed that it is difficult to find a Magistrate who does not hesitate to issue warrants which may lead to fatal consequences; and several Justices, who were themselves sufferers at the time of the troubles, and who a year ago were urging all kinds of vindictive proceedings, have refused to issue warrants now. I am not aware whether any warrant has actually been issued up to this moment. The difficulty is not among the people of the country, but among the small band of lawless men, idlers

and roughs who infest the taverns of Winnipeg. These men have no influence except for mischief, but they might light a flame it would be hard to extinguish. For a few days I felt the danger was extreme. The only possible way to avoid a serious outbreak was to get rid of the two men whose presence in the country formed the pretext for the action of the roughs at Winnipeg."

We have said that the action of the Ontario Government was not altogether unexpected; and steps had been taken by the Dominion Government to render that action innoxious as far as disturbing the peace of Manitoba by attempting the arrest of Riel was concerned, by providing for the withdrawal of Riel and Lépine to the United States for a while, until the excitement had blown over. It seems curious that the Government of the Dominion should not only connive at, but actually assist, the escape of criminals from justice, while the Government of one of the Provinces should see fit to offer a reward for the apprehension of those same criminals; but it must be remembered that the circumstances were peculiar in every respect. The Dominion Government was a Coalition one, the main strength of which was the French Conservative Members from Quebec—or, to be more exact, Sir George E. Cartier, who represented that party; the Quebec Members were almost unanimously of opinion not only that no prosecutions for anything arising out of the troubles in the North-West should take place, but that the Imperial Government should be urged to grant a complete amnesty for past offences; on the other hand, a number of the Ontario supporters of the Government were Orangemen, who not only opposed the granting of an amnesty, but were urging that the ringleaders of the insurgents should be tried for the murder of Scott. To conciliate these conflicting opinions so as to maintain the Government was no easy task. To advocate the granting of an amnesty was to lose the support

of the Ontario Members and court certain defeat ; * to initiate criminal proceedings against Riel and his followers was to alienate the Quebec members, and, probably, precipitate a war of religion and races in which the French and Irish Catholics of all the Provinces—for a war of this kind could never be confined to Manitoba once it broke out—would be arrayed against the Protestants, and the ultimate result of which would be the destruction of the country. To avoid both these difficulties Sir John A. Macdonald adopted a temporising policy, dealing with the amnesty question as one which was impossible at present, but would be satisfactorily settled "by-and-by ;" and simply taking no action in the matter of prosecutions, and when other parties proposed to do so, furnishing the means for Riel and Lépine to disappear for a while until the excitement had subsided. On the morality, or immorality of this policy we make no comment, contenting ourselves with stating it. It served its purpose for the time, but, even as a mere party measure—leaving morality and justice out of the question altogether—it is very questionable whether it was the most judicious which could have been adopted, or whether it would not have been better to have asked the Imperial Government to proclaim a partial amnesty—such as was afterwards granted—and have left the question of punishment for the murder of Scott entirely to the Courts, and the action of private prosecutors if they desired to take any. That would, at least, have conciliated one party, and the Government would have been stronger on its appeal to the country in 1872, when it was so weakened that it only needed the *coup de Grace* of the Pacific Scandal to drive it ignominiously from office in 1873.

---

* "When I spoke to Sir John A. Macdonald on the subject he never denied that the amnesty had been promised, but he said 'No Government could stand on that question.' I told him there had been promises of amnesty frequently, and he did not deny the statement. He repeated that no Government could stand that would endeavour to procure the amnesty." Archbishop Taché before the Select Committee, April 18, 1874.

As the case stood, however, when the Ontario Government offered its reward, there was no other course to pursue than to induce Riel to run away again, as he had done once before, and so save further trouble. Negotiations had already been entered into between Archbishop Taché and Sir John A. Macdonald, before the Proclamation of the Ontario Government, for the withdrawal of Riel from the Province on account of his being spoken of as a candidate for the House of Commons from Provencher at the General Election, and it was thought that his presence would cause trouble ; but the offer of the reward hastened his departure. Archbishop Taché left Manitoba on the 23rd of September, 1871, and, consequently, was not in the Province at the time of the Fenian Raid. He proceeded to Canada, and while there had several interviews with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, who urged him to use his influence with Riel to induce him to leave, which he finally consented to do, on condition that something was given Riel to support him, as he was a poor man and had a mother and three sisters dependent on him. This was agreed to, and Sir John sent him a draft for $1,000. The Archbishop returned to St. Boniface on the 16th of January, 1872, and shortly after opened negotiations with Riel for his departure. Riel pretended reluctance to leave, and wanted better terms than the Archbishop could offer him. Before the question of his leaving had been decided, information was received that a reward had been offered by the Ontario Government, and Lieutenant-Governor Archibald at once opened negotiations with Archbishop Taché to get Riel and Lépine out of the way. After some little haggling it was decided that they should have $1,600 each to go, and provision should be made for their families during their absence, which was not to be less than a year. The money (£600 stg.) was advanced by Mr. Donald A. Smith, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the men went to the United States, thus

removing any cause of immediate anxiety on the ground of arrest. The Province then lapsed into a state of quietude.

We have now filled our allotted space for the history of the Province since 1835. It was the original intention to bring the records down, not only to the close of the Red River troubles, but to the present date, giving the reader a sketch of the progress of civil government, and the development of the industries and institutions of the Province. These matters are left for a second volume which it is the intention of the writer to prepare and publish in the near future.

THE END.

Public Library